Daily Report

Latin America

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FBIS-LAT-90-039 *27 February 1990*

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Ministers Voice Support for Regional Peace

PA2702031090 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2330 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Santo Domingo, 26 Feb (EFE)—The Colombian and Dominican Foreign Ministers, Julio Londono and Joaquin Ricardo, voiced their support today for Central American peace following the 25 February elections in Nicaragua, which both described as surprising.

Londono told EFE that they were surprised over the results of the Nicaraguan elections inasmuch as all the opinion polls predicted that the ruling Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) would win the elections.

As for the results that show the National Opposition Union (UNO) candidate, Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, has won, Londono said: Colombia wishes to voice its satisfaction, because this is an important step in Nicaraguan democracy.

He added that no matter who the winner is, it is evident that these have been honest elections. He added that he feels this is a contribution not only for the tranquility of Central America, which has been in a state of upheaval for nearly 10 years, but also for Latin American democracy.

Londono also said that he was happy over this step, because he believes it will contribute to eliminating one of the centers of dangerous and conflicting friction in the Americas.

Meanwhile, Foreign Minister Ricardo emphasized that he fully agrees with Londono, adding that each time elections are held where all the expectations are met and where all the persons have an opportunity to vote in a free manner, it is a sort of spiritual devotion for all Latin American democracy.

Concerning Nicaragua, he added that this was a place where we were all carefully following developments because of the importance the country has for the Central American area, which is in a state of upheaval. Ricardo said that Nicaragua has now made an additional contribution to democracy in the hemisphere.

The Dominican foreign minister emphasized that we are going to enter the year 2000 as the only continent where there is not a single spot left without democracy.

Both foreign ministers made these statements to EFE shortly before attending a luncheon hosted by Londono for his Dominican counterpart. They both stressed that peace in Nicaragua could lead to peace throughout Central America.

OAS Approves Resolution on Haiti

FL2402185290 Bridgetown CANA in English 1010 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Washington, Feb 23, CANA—Caribbean Community (Caricom) states secured OAS backing on Friday for a resolution expressing concern over human rights in Haiti. The feelings of the Permanent Council of the Organisation of American States were made evident in a resolution approved by consensus after a day-long session held at the request of Caricom nations.

The council resolution said that "the best guarantee of human rights is the real exercise of representative democracy." It reaffirmed "its solidarity with the people of Haiti" and reiterated "its confidence that they will achieve their legitimate aspirations for peace, freedom and democracy, without external interferences and in exercise of their right to self-determination."

One of the main decisions of the council was to request the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights "to continue giving priority attention to the human rights situation in Haiti...."

The council also recommended that the secretary general of the OAS, Ambassador Joao Clemente Baena Soares, organize a mission of observers to the next election in Haiti, if requested by the government of that country. The resolution also urged "the reactivation of cooperation with the government and people of Haiti for the development and consolidation of representative democracy." In that context, it requested the OAS secretary general to continue assisting Haiti under the Inter-American fund for priority assistance to Haiti, which is made up by voluntary contributions from the OAS member states. This fund has collected almost a million U.S. dollars so far.

The meeting was convoked at the request of Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, Grenada, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, Trinidad and Tobago, and Jamaica.

"Our request," he pointed out, "is based on the solidarity, friendship and brotherhood which the peoples of the Caribbean Community (Caricom) have for the people of Haiti."

"Therefore," he went on to say, "our objective here today must be understood in the context of the stated commitment of Caricom to quote enduring solidarity with the Haitian people as they seek to overcome the repression of the past, respond to the challenges of the present and claim the promises of the future."

Ambassador Johnson told the OAS Permanent Council that "reportedly, many Haitians are dubious that the provisional military government (of President Prosper Avril) will fulfill its pledge to hold elections and hand over the reins of government to a leadership freely chosen by the people of Haiti."

He underscored that "there is the perception that the electoral time-table proposed last September by the Provisional Electoral Council will not be implemented and that the military regime will more deeply entrench itself in Haiti against the will of the people of Haiti."

The Jamaican diplomat pointed out that "within the principle of non-intervention and with full respect for the sovereignty of Haiti, there is action which the OAS can take to encourage and support Haiti's democratization and reverse the process of Haiti's isolation."

U.S. Ambassador Luigi Einaudi expressed the "serious concern" of his government over the current situation in Haiti and gave also his support to the Caricom initiative, which he described as timely under the present circumstances.

Haiti's delegate Fritz Fougy did not object to the resolution and said the OAS Human Rights Commission will be well received in his country. "The people of Haiti is very protective of its independence and believes profoundly in the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination. We ask for the support of the OAS to the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of states be respected in what concerns the republic of Haiti," Fougy said.

Area Communist Parties 'Softening' Outlook

FL2402190390 Bridgetown CANA in English 0942 GMT 24 Feb 90

[By Peter Richards]

[Text] Bridgetown, Barbados, Feb 23, CANA—Some communist parties in the Caribbean are softening their outlook and re-writing the rules, making themselves more attractive to an electorate that has persistently favoured middle of the road parties.

Some— like Cuban President Fidel Castro's—say they aren't about to make major philosophical changes. But all agree that the sweeping reforms taking place in the Eastern bloc countries do not indicate communism is dying.

Political analysts say the softening of the Caribbean's left has been due in part to the backlash of the 1983 collapse of the Grenada revolution, some of whose leaders were found guilty of murdering popular leftist Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and others.

The change, they assert, is based on the feeling that the communists would make little headway towards winning an election unless they offered a more attractive programme in an area where nationalization of businesses and state control of the economy have angered several and made investors wary.

The Workers Party of Jamaica has admitted it is reforming to become more relevant, while officials of the People's Progressive Party in Guyana say they have changed to the point where they are no longer insisting on a socialist-oriented programme for the economically troubled republic.

Both parties say, however, that the changes in Eastern europe—which saw hardline communist leaders in East Germany, Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia swept from power—did not really start them thinking about reform, or "perestroika," as Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev calls it. They thinking had started long before.

Leader of the Workers' Party of Jamaica, Dr. Trevor Munroe, feels perestroyka is attempting to give socialism a human, "modern democratic crease." He says whether this is so or not, Caribbean people "have had 300 years of experience of different types of capitalism (and) the present condition of the majority of our people is such that they would not consider the way of life that we have as the way of life they would desire." Munroe sees perestroyka as providing an opportunity to the region's left wing political parties to offer the electorate something new.

"...The challenge to the socialist and radical left is to revise, review, reform their programme, their methods in consultation with the people, so that a real alternative can emerge in the process," he said.

According to Munroe, a lecturer in politics at the University of the West Indies, the WPJ has already embarked upon such reforms, putting aside its constitution and programmes it had been pursuing over the past five years "based on concepts which are no longer appropriate to the current international economic and political reality. It is against that background the party is responding to the local as well as the international situation and working towards a new patriotic, democratic and transformative organisation," he added.

Guyana's Peoples' Progressive Party, which unlike the WPJ once held power, has often asserted its Marxist-Leninist ideology. But the party says it has no intention of establishing a communist state if elected to power.

"I wish to state quite clearly that the building of a so-called communist state in Guyana is not on the agenda of the People's Progressive Party and while we have our independent programme, we have even dropped our insistence on a socialist-oriented programme...," leader Dr. Cheddi Jagan said.

The PPP has been trying to improve relations with Western nations at a time when Guyana is seeking a heavy inflow of foreign aid to improve its economy. PPP officials said Jagan was planned a visit to Washington, where he would hopefully meet President George Bush and other leaders with a view to improving relations that have never been warm. Clement Rohee, international secretary of the PPP, said of the visit: "We have initiated that long before the process started in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union."

University lecturer, Dr. Neville Duncan said the left-wing political parties' started making adjustments soon after the U.S.-led invasion of Grenada in 1983 that unseated a leftist junta that had taken over from Bishop. "All these parties have in fact since then diluted the Marxist-Leninist thrust of their activities and attempted to make their parties more relevant to the Caribbean context and the anglophone Caribbean environment," he said. "The changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have only in my view intensified that process," he added.

The Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement, an offshoot of the Marxist-oriented New Jewel Movement that seized power in a 1979 coup, says the invasion had "pushed back" the socialist thrust in the region.

Dr. Terry Marryshow, leader of the MPBM, said the invasion "destroyed many of the benefits that the Grenadian people received...during the period of the revolution between 1979 and 1983, particularly the social and economic benefits...."

Cuba

Official Sources Silent About Sandinist Defeat

PA2602183490 Paris AFP in Spanish 1811 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Havana, 26 Feb (AFP)—Cuban radio and television today reported without comment on the results of the elections in Nicaragua, based on this morning's acceptance of defeat of Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, who also announced that he will abide by the ruling of the Supreme Electoral Council.

The morning dailies carried no reports on the results of the elections in Nicaragua because of the time at which they close their editions, but emphasized the honesty of the elections.

In reports from its correspondent in Managua, PRENSA LATINA said that a "visibly dismayed" Ortega confirmed the elections results showing the "rightist" National Opposition Union as the winner.

Until noon today, official circles remained silent about the Sandinists' defeat, which obviously took Cuba by surprise.

Havana Notes Ortega Speech on Election Results

FL2602152090 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1455 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega today said that the governing Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] will accept the final official election results. I want to say on behalf of myself, my family, comrades, and friends of the National Directorate of the FSLN that the government will respect and abide by the people's mandate as shown by the voting in these elections, the Nicaraguan head of state said in a message to the nation from the Olof Palme Convention Center. Ortega added that this is the principal support the Sandinists and Nicaraguan revolutionaries are giving to the people, guaranteeing a clean democratic process which further enhances in our consciousness the light of the sun of liberty.

Ortega, visibly moved by the partial results that assure victory for the right-wing National Opposition Union, called on FSLN sympathizers and members to take pride in the fact that the electoral battle was able to be held in a civil manner without any acts of violence.

Commentary Views Sandinist Election Defeat

FL2602185890 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Station commentary]

[Text] According to the latest statistics, it seems that the alliance National Opposition Union [UNO] of Nicaragua has triumphed in the 25 February elections. Surprisingly and in contradiction of the polls conducted, Mrs. Violeta Barrios, Chamorro's widow, will be the future president of the Central American country.

Almost 11 years of Sandinist revolutionary government were not able to reverse the trend of the elections. For almost 11 years, the United States and its allies in the zone most blatantly impeded the stabilization of the revolution in Nicaragua.

In analyzing the recent history of the small Central American country, such factors as the fierce economic blockade, the mining of the ports, and the constant sabotage and pressure exerted by the contras from Honduras held in check the young Sandinist government, which dedicated its principal efforts to defending itself from the aggression without any opportunity to fully devote itself to the construction of a more just society in Nicaragua. We Cubans are familiar with this style of international relations, practiced by the imperialist neighbor.

On a more basic level, the threat of counterrevolutionary terror toward the more apolitical masses of Nicaragua, the buying of votes, and the argument for suspending the patriotic military service were proposals made and fulfilled by the UNO in its proselytizing campaign.

Now the United States will apply its neoliberal formulas to the Central American country. It will cease the blockade and pressure, as well as external aggression. It will say that pseudodemocracy is the key that will open the way to a new road to abundance. Nevertheless, not one of these actions will get Nicaragua out of its condition as an underdeveloped, backward, and dependent country. Only a true revolution will do this.

Internationalists Return After Withdrawal Resumes

FL2602124890 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Roberto Robaina, alternate member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Cuba and first secretary of the UJC [Union of Young Communists], and Brigade General Guillermo Rodriguez del Poso, vice minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, have given a warm welcome to more than 150 internationalist combatants who are returning victorious from the People's Republic of Angola, thus resuming the withdrawal of Cuban troops, which was suspended by decision of the governments of the two countries after the attack by the opposition group, UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], which caused the death of four Cubans in Lobito.

The returning group includes eight women and was headed by Lieutenant Colonel (Joaquin Soria Ramirez).

Human Rights Activist Released From Prison

PA2702032390 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0110 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Havana, 26 Feb (EFE)—Samuel Martinez Lara, the secretary general of the clandestine Cuban Human

Rights Party (PPDHC), has been released by the Cuban authorities, sources from the outlawed organization said today.

Martinez Lara has been in prison in the Aguica Jail (Matanzas Province, in the midwestern part of the country) since April 1989 when his party tried to organize a demonstration in front of the Soviet Embassy in Cuba during Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to this country.

Martinez Lara was released on 23 February, and the human rights activist returned to his home in Havana.

Samuel Martinez was released because the authorities relaxed the precautionary measures that kept him in prison, but he continues to be prosecuted for contempt, for which he may receive a prison sentence ranging from one to three years, the sources added.

In the beginning, as a result of the unsuccessful demonstration in front of the Soviet Embassy, Martinez was sentenced to nine months in prison, which he had served by late December.

However, shortly before the date of his legal release, the Cuban authorities accused him of participating in a fight with two common criminals who shared his jail cell, for which he was indicted again.

The fight apparently was related to the demonstrations conducted by Martinez against Cuban President Fidel Castro and the communist government.

Dissident sources said the whole thing was actually a reprisal, and they were pleased that Martinez was finally released.

After the dissident was released from prison, the Cuban Human Rights Coordinating Board (Codehu), the main human rights organization in the country—composed of the PPDHC, the Movement for National Reconciliation, and the Marti Committee [Comite Martiano]—appointed Martinez as its president.

The other two top leaders of the Codehu, Elizardo Sanchez of the Movement for National Reconciliation and Hubert Jerez of the Marti Committee, are currently in prison, also accused of engaging in activities against the Cuban Government.

After leaving prison, Martinez Lara said that he would work to achieve greater unity in the Cuban dissident movement and that the Codehu is willing to accept all the organizations wishing to work for a freer Cuba with social justice.

Sources from the Codehu said that Martinez Lara's release was the result of requests made to the Cuban authorities by Freimut Dewe, an FRG Social Democratic Party deputy, and other international personalities.

Grenada

Former Prime Minister To Run in Elections

FL2302151890 Bridgetown CANA in English 1444 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] St. George's, Grenada, Feb 23, CANA—Former Grenada prime minister, Sir Eric Gairy, on Friday handed in his nomination papers as a candidate for the March 13 general election. Gairy, who heads the Grenada United Labour Party [GULP], is running for the St. George's South seat he held until he was toppled in a 1979 leftist coup. Gairy's papers were among the first handed in.

"I don't take second place to anyone," he told CANA. "I was there (at the temporary nominations office) first." At least five parties and more than 70 candidates are expected to contest the election, exactly 11 years after Gairy's ousting.

Gairy has not been a political candidate for more than a decade. His last election was in 1976, with GULP winning. In 1984, Gairy did not seek re-election, although his party contested the poll. It won only one seat.

Gairy was once a labour hero but his popularity waned in the 70's in the face of allegations of corruption, economic mismanagement and brutality against political opponents.

Haiti

PSCH's Eugene Declares Candidacy in Elections

FL2302164590 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1200 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Attorney Gregoire Eugene, president of the Haitian Social Christian Party, PSCH, who had virtually disappeared from the political scene for awhile, declares that he is going to participate in the coming elections. Despite the fact that the sociopolitical climate is very bad and that there is no confidence in the authorities responsible for holding these elections, Eugene is going to participate in elections for several reasons:

First, the Haitian people are tired of a transition that has lasted too long. Next, as a former secretary of state and former justice minister in the quarrel on the eve of the 1957 elections that resulted in the election of [Francois] Duvalier, he does not believe that either a people's government or a government of national coalition can get the nation out of its current situation.

According to Eugene, even though General Henri Namphy seized power after constantly declaring he had no political ambitions, he nevertheless believes in General Avril's 7 February statement, in which Gen. Avril asked all his partners to come play the democratic game with him, without fraud or crooked wheeling and

dealing. Besides, says Eugene, the military government is not the only entity responsible for the success of an electoral process.

[Begin Eugene recording] It is a mistake to think that the government alone can either make the elections a success or spoil them because, when you look at an electoral process, how many actors do you have on the stage? There is the government; the CEP [election council], which has its role to play; the candidates, for they must agree to play the democratic game. If a candidate goes somewhere—be it Washington, or Paris, or Venezuela, or the National Palace, or the Ministry of Interior—to take certain initiatives, to find himself a patron, well, then there is no democratic game. Thus, the candidates must resign themselves. It is the Haitian people that [words indistinct].

The fourth element is the press, the directors of opinion. The press has its role to play in an electoral process. Fifth, there is the mass of voters. The voters? Yes! Because I see that during the referendum of 1987, the people went out and voted. I also saw what happened in Cap-Haitien on 12 February 1979. The government of Jean-Claude Duvalier did all it could to block Lerouge. The people were able to say no, it is Lerouge that we want. Lerouge won with 34,800 votes in Cap-Haitien. So, this means that all the actors....[changes thought] that is why I am going to participate in elections. [end recording]

Asked if he is afraid that what happened to Professor Leslie Manigat might happen to him, Eugene said that the Assembly of Progressive National Democrats did not know how to handle the power it had in its hands. If the PSCH manages to win this power, be it with only 10 percent of the votes, the PSCH will stay in power, because it knows what to do.

Regarding the 29 November [1987] elections, Eugene declared that it would be sinful to say that Gen. Henri Namphy was the only person responsible for spoiling the elections. He said the CEP was also to blame and that the small Catholic grassroots parishes were not too holy, either. Regarding Gen. Avril and the elections to be held, Eugene declared that the best way to make a thief honest is to say that he is honest.

We remind listeners that Eugene was one of the first persons to wage over television a campaign of denigration against the election council on the eve of the 29 November elections. He also took a swipe at the church, which he accused of being communist at a time when the military authorities were using the label communist to destroy all the popular movements making legitimate demands.

After the results of the 17 January [1988] elections, Eugene was one of the first people to speak out against the results. However, at the installation of the president resulting from those elections, Eugene was one of the first people to go up and shake President Manigat's hand and embrace him. Shortly thereafter, Eugene was one of the first people to attack the 17 January government in the periodical FRATERNITE.

Today, in the same kind of somber political climate, with the voters facing the same problem of lack of confidence, this same person, Gregoire Eugene, is flying the banner of a small group including Attorney Francois Latortue, Reverend Dumas Jean Arnold, Jocelyn Beauchard, and other candidates of the extreme right that declares it is going to elections.

Magistrate, Casec Candidates Reminded of Deadline

FL2302162390 Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale in Creole 1400 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Excerpts] The Ministry of Interior and National Defense reminds members of communal committees and Administrative Councils for the Communal Sections [Casec] who are planning to run for office in the coming elections that according to Article 27 of the electoral law, they are obliged to resign their positions 60 days—two months—before the elections. [passage omitted]

The ministry announces that 29 communal committees have already resigned. Under the Permanent Electoral Council's calendar, elections for communal magistrates and Casec members are scheduled for 29 April 1990. The Ministry of Interior and National Defense invites interested parties to resign by 28 February at the latest. That is the deadline for submitting their resignations. After that date, the resigning parties may not continue to manage the interests of the commune or communal section they are in and still obtain from the competent directorate of the Ministry of Interior and National Defense an attestation that they complied in time with the obligation stipulated in Article 27 of the electoral law. [passage omitted]

New Organizations Express Support for Government

FL2602195090 Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale in Creole 1400 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Excerpts] The (Aux Peches) Peasants Association says it supports General Prosper Avril's government's intentions to hold proper elections in Haiti. They say they also support the Permanent Electoral Council [CEP], which is determined to hold elections beginning with elections for Administrative Councils for the Communal Sections [Casecs] and culminating in a presidential election. They think a good democracy should begin from the bottom up here in Haiti. [passage omitted]

They say they denounce all false leaders who think they can take power by force here in Haiti. They consider all such people reactionaries. In any case, they are sounding the conch shell to assemble and asking all patriotic Haitians to come together. They are also asking the current government to get together with the CEP so as to be able to hold proper elections in Haiti.

This press release is from the (Aux Peches) Peasants Association. They say they support Gen. Avril's initiatives to implant a proper democracy in Haiti. [passage omitted]

We also have here a press release from the Democratic Assembly of Young Haitian Patriots whose headquarters is off Lamentin 52 roadway on Saint Charles Street. They say that the representatives in this association, which has been striving in the people's camp since 1985, are calling on all organizations of staunch patriots struggling for real change to rise up and peaceably demonstrate against all political leaders vilely maneuveuring to destabilize the government of Gen. Prosper Avril and the good work the government is doing to ensure the transition to democracy. [passage omitted]

Narcotics Service Issues 'Clarification'

FL2202211590 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1150 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] The Haitian Armed Forces' [FADH] Narcotics Service informs the general public and the press that it is the Narcotic Service's mission to fight drug use and illicit drug traffic throughout the territory of the Republic of Haiti; and to, if necessary, send before the competent jurisdiction—after a police investigation has been conducted and after all administrative formalities have been complied with—any and all persons having infringed on the dispositions of the laws governing this matter.

The Narcotics Service points out to anyone who may be concerned that the persons apprehended are always sent in proper condition—and in proper condition is underlined in this text—to the competent judicial authority for whatever ends are stipulated by law. Consequently, all decisions of the judicial body—be it the court of summary jurisdiction, the office of the examining magistrate, or the Assize Court—that may have ordered the release of any prisoner are the sole responsibility of the authority that made such a decision.

This is a clarification from the FADH Narcotics Service.

Trinidad and Tobago

Prime Minister Criticizes U.S. for Cutting Aid

FL2402191890 Bridgetown CANA in English 1714 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] New York, Feb 23, CANA—Trinidad and Tobago Prime Minister A.N.R. Robinson has criticised the U.S. for cutting aid to Jamaica and other Caribbean states, warning that the shift of assistance from the region to Eastern Europe would hurt the anti-drug and undermine development efforts.

After being brought into the drug picture as a transit point to satisfy the demand for drugs in the U.S., said Robinson, the Caribbean was now being told that it would have to do with less assistance from Washington to fight a menace whose origins could be traced to the Americans' appetite for drugs.

"The Caribbean region has, unfortunately, been placed between the producers and the users, that is to say the producers of Latin America and users in the United States," he said.

"So that originally we were used as a transit route for the conveyance of narcotics for the U.S. after being used in that way we ourselves found that our population began to use drugs.

"We were brought into the picture in that way. It is all the more unfortunate, therefore, that funds should have been diverted from Jamaica to Eastern Europe. Such a sum as (U.S.) 20 million would be so important to Jamaica, a small country.

"It (money), certainly, could have been found by other means, having regard to the critical need in the region, the history behind the region being caught up in the (drug) trade, it is most unfortunate. It would certainly diminish the resources available for the effective combatting of the illegal drug trafficking system in the Caribbean."

The prime minister said that because of the serious economic problems facing many Caribbean states, the cuts in aid could make an already bad situation worse. "If resources are shifted from the Caribbean to any other part of the world it makes it very difficult for the region to deal with its own developmental problems," he went on. "It is an area which does need capital."

He pointed to the problems of unemployment and debt, saying that in some Caribbean states, joblessness among the youth was running as high as 40 per cent of people under 25 years old. "This is an extremely serious situation," Robinson added. As for debt, he pointed out that Jamaica had to allocate 50 per cent of its gross domestic product to service foreign loans while Trinidad and Tobago had to set aside 25 per cent of GDP [gross domestic product] to meet its loan obligations. "If now, in addition, to the outflows which result from the indebtness, there is a diversion of what would have been inflows into the area, then the situation becomes even more critical than it is today," warned the prime minister.

The Bush administration recently slashed Jamaica's aid programme to (U.S.) 5 million this year, down from (U.S.) 25 million last year. Washington also eliminated (U.S.) 15 million in aid for the Eastern Caribbean. That money was reportedly shifted to Eastern Europe, Poland in particular. Poland is receiving 220 million in U.S. aid this year, an increase of 215 million over last year's aid package.

Salinas Congratulates Chamorro on Victory

PA2702030990 Mexico City XHTV Television in Spanish 0226 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari sent a congratulatory message to Mrs. Violeta Barrios de Chamorro on her electoral triumph in yesterday's elections in Nicaragua.

The message read: I am pleased to address you on the occasion of your triumph in the elections held in Nicaragua yesterday. This exemplary event reaffirms the democratic spirit of the Nicaraguan people. I congratulate you on your electoral victory.

Congratulates Ortega on Elections

FL2702031090 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 0251 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Mexico City, 26 Feb (NOTIMEX)—Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari sent today a congratulatory message to Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega for the fine way in which the elections were held in that country yesterday.

He said: I am pleased to send you cordial greetings and congratulate you for the exemplary way in which yesterday's elections were held. They made evident the undeniable democratic vocation of the Nicaraguan people and the political honesty and historic vision of the government you preside over.

Salinas de Gortari added that the free way in which the elections developed constitutes an example of the democratic spirit and the mood of national reconciliation that inspires the government and the entire Nicaraguan nation.

In expressing my sincere wishes for the progress of this brother country, for peace and harmony, I take the opportunity to reiterate to you the assurance of my highest personal regard and esteem, added Salinas de Gortari in his letter.

Talks to Bush About Election

FL2702033090 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 0255 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Washington, 26 Feb (NOTIMEX)—Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari expressed today to his U.S. counterpart George Bush there is an urgent need for industrialized countries to firmly support economic and social development in Central America. The two heads of state spoke over the phone regarding the Nicaraguan elections held yesterday and in which opposition candidate Violeta Barrios de Chamorro turned up to be the winner. President Salinas de Gortari said he followed with interest the development of the elections in that Central American country and commented that he already sent a congratulatory telegram to Chamorro.

The Mexican president also said he sent a message to Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega in which he conveyed sincere congratulations for the exemplary way in which yesterday's elections were held.

* 'Peasant Torch' Action in Guerrero Viewed

* AC Presence Criticized

90EM0088A Mexico City PUNTO in Spanish 8 Jan 90 p 4

[Article by Jose Woldenberg]

[Text] In our country, events unleashed in the aftermath of elections matter just as much as the day when voters go to the polls. No one can guarantee that the will of the people as reflected by the ballot box will decide who wins. Thus the operations mounted by the different parties to defend or alter the vote have as much to do with the outcome as the vote itself. If the results of the balloting are generally respected and that's what finally decides the winners, the operations mounted by the different parties to defend or alter the vote have as much to do with the outcome as the vote itself. [as published] If the results of the balloting are generally respected, the aftermath tends to be peaceful. If, on the other hand, some people doubt that the count was clean, the spirals of challenge, of verbal and even physical violence never fail to find an outlet and a direction.

But in addition to the foregoing sketch, which is extremely general, there is an infinity of variables that have to do with the peculiarities of the country's many regions. This is the case in the Montana District of Guerrero State and specifically in the municipality of Alcozauca. There recognition of a PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution] victory has unleashed a violent reaction from Peasant Torch [Antorcha Campesina—AC].

For the past nine years, Alcozauca has been ruled by candidates put up first by the PCM [Mexican Communist Party] and then by PSUM [United Mexican Socialist Party]. This string was extended last 3 December when PRD candidate Antonio Suarez, who was mayor from 1984 to 1986, won a new term in office. The elections themselves were generally uneventful despite some flagrant irregularities. Of these the most important was the vote in a settlement some distance from the municipality's main town. There PRD representatives were denied access to the polling place on pain of death. Thus, all the votes in San Miguel went to the PRI and not a one to PRD. What's more, the turnout came to nearly 100 percent of the voter registration roll, and PRD itself had gathered documents indicating that roll was padded. Fortunately, the state legislature had enough good sense to nullify the results from the suspect polling place. This move altered the results of the election and the general atmosphere in which the election took place. It was believed this would pave the way to a change of administration without major disturbances.

However, on 30 December, two days before the formal transfer of power in the municipal government, armed militants from AC appeared on the scene. Although the group had no particular following in Alcozauca, it occupied city hall, and tension gripped the municipality. From that day on, rumors flew that AC intended to eliminate outgoing mayor Othon Salazar and his legitimate successor on 1 January, Professor Suarez. PRD loyalists steered clear of provocation and decided to hold the swearing-in of the new municipal government outdoors. In this fashion, the event went off without major incidents.

Nonetheless, on Wednesday, 3 January, as this story was filed, AC remained in possession of city hall, and the atmosphere remained tense. This same day, Guerrero Governor Jose Francisco Ruiz Massieu told the newspaper La Jornada his administration "has given full support to the PRD slate which triumphed in the municipality." He further indicated that the PRI in Alcozauca was "reasonably aware that it had lost once again."

This being the case, questions about AC's aggression abound. If AC had no real support in Alcozauca, what accounts for its sudden appearance there? If the state's governor and even the legislature recognize the legitimacy of the PRD victory, who is supporting a group that lashes out against a town with impunity? Why does a group that isn't party to an election dispute stage an armed takeover of a city hall?

I am not a detective, and I don't have answers to these questions. But it seems clear that the region's political network with its caciques and little caciques, its vested interests, and its spheres of influence and impunity is not just reacting to gains by the PRD. (In the same area, PRD victories were ratified in Xochihuehuetlan and Metlatonoc.) It is also reacting to the attitude taken towards the region by the state government.

This is one of the many hitches developing during the process of democratic change the country is clamoring for. It demands a close and detailed reading of political conditions within the uneven puzzle that comprises our country.

* Threat Noted

90EM0088B Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 3 Jan 90 pp 1, 8

[Article by Sara Lovera]

[Text] The municipality of Alcozauca in Guerrero State has come under siege by 125 "armed and defiant" members of Peasant Torch [Antorcha Campesina—AC]. They took over and trashed the city hall, closed roads, and partially suspended electrical and phone service. They threatened to kill Mayor Antonio Suarez Marquez and former Mayor Othon Salazar, both members of the Party of the Democratic Revolution [PRD]. They also issued a statement expressly demanding government intervention "to avoid bloodshed and the killing of our supporters."

In a phone interview at 10 last night, Guerrero Governor Jose Francisco Ruiz Massieu said state prosecutor Jose Ruben Robles Catalan and judicial police from the town of Tlapa had gone to Alcozauca to safeguard the population and "restore institutional life there."

At 7 a.m. on the first of January, after meeting with members of PRI and its local leader Baltasar Villanueva, the AC militants occupied the city hall. They smashed doors and windows during the takeover in the wake of PRI's municipal election losses. The night before, PRD supporters mindful of the tense situation had moved out of the building. Suarez Marquez was sworn in as mayor at a government facility pressed into service for the occasion.

However, since yesterday morning the situation has become uncertain. According to Suarez Marquez and Salazar, AC contingents from Puebla and Oaxaca closed roads and highways, announced that "the killing may begin at any time," hung out a large banner at city hall, and held an afternoon meeting to tell everyone what their organization is about.

PRD supporters, according to party representative Adolfo Sanchez Rebolledo, went to extremes to avoid confrontations and provocations. They sent delegations to outlying settlements with briefings about the situation and established contacts with government authorities.

In this regard, Ruiz Massieu stated that his administration had given "full backing to the PRD slate, which is the one that triumphed in the municipality." The Alcozauca PRI, he said, "is reasonably aware that it lost once again" as it did three years ago. He explained that results from the San Miguel el Grande polling place, which gave PRI 560 votes, were annulled. The state legislature ratified the PRD victory.

Suarez Marquez and Salazar demanded government intervention, and Sanchez Rebollar [as published] warned of "the risk of chaos that might lead to intervention by the Armed Forces."

For her part, Prof. Hortensia Moctezuma, an Alcozauca resident who spoke with LA JORNADA here, said threats against the mayor and Othon Salazar are resounding all over town. It is feared that either of the two could be kidnapped "from one minute to the next," she said.

Servando Alanis, state political affairs secretary, told PRD supporters "there is nothing to fear because the PRD victory is irreversible." Alanis, according to Sanchez Rebolledo, attributed the situation to "a movement against the left and against the government by Torches who don't accept the PRD triumph." Peasant Torch, the PRD representative explained, did not get mixed up in the local election process itself.

A statement sent to this newspaper from the mayor said he and Salazar noted that the AC followers were "armed and defiant" when they arrived in the town. The situation deteriorated quickly, the statement said, and last night Suarez and Salazar feared it could catch fire.

* Attempt To See Governor

90EM0088C Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 5 Jan 90 p 3

[Article by Roberto Zamarripa, Carlos Yanez, and Jose Manuel Benitez]

[Text] Chipalcingo, Guerrero State, 4 January—There will be "legal solutions in a spirit of equity" for municipalities with post-electoral problems, according to Francisco Ruiz Massieu, governor of the state of Guerrero. Ruiz, who was interviewed almost three hours before meeting with a delegation from the National Action Party [PAN], said he's confident 1990 will be "a good year." He promised PAN supporters "to make no further use of government force" and said those dislodged from Taxco City Hall will not be prosecuted.

"All the parties are undergoing changes," Ruiz said. "We still haven't learned a basic rule, that you must know how to win and how to lose. Victories are more than outbursts in public thoroughfares and squares. They must be won at the polls."

He mentioned "fellow members of PRI who are complaining about Alcozauca because the legislature issued a resolution saying the PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution] won. The PRD is making the same complaints about the triumph which the legislature awarded to PRI in Coyuca."

Ruiz added that people are tired of being distracted from their daily routines which are burdensome in themselves and not very remunerative.

The PRD, through its spokesman Rosalio Wences Reza, demanded that those responsible for the deaths of four of its members in Coyuca de Benitez be arrested and punished. Wences also confirmed that 24 city halls remain under PRD occupation. During an interview in Acapulco, Wences said the events in Coyuca were politically motivated and represented "a decision by the Attorney General's Office not to intervene when we lose."

In the view of Governor Francisco Ruiz Massieu, the four deaths "have nothing to do with 3 December—the day of statewide elections—but they did provoke a climate of political conflict." He attributed what happened to a PRD barricade set up around the city hall in Coyuca. "The barricades certainly were the cause of this distressing affair, and coincidentally we've been advised that the two perpetrators who fled have links to some PRD people."

During a radio interview from the state capital, Ruiz Massieu issued a call to citizens who did not vote on 3 December. "Only 25 percent of those eligible (1,269,000) cast ballots," he said. He asked abstainers "to refrain from acts that spread violence."

He called violence in the wake of the elections "a costly learning phase for everybody." Rather than divert time, energy, and resources to conflicts, he urged rival parties to concern themselves with "giving the people better government."

He interpreted the high abstention rate in the last election as a phenomenon associated with political, economic, and cultural backwardness. "When the people see the system doesn't allow them a good standard of living, they abstain from voting."

The governor admitted "there are post-electoral incidents." However, he characterized them as "takeovers of five or six city halls, very aggressive sit-ins in front of some others, and in three or four cases a new tactic of surrounding city halls."

"If we continue to slacken tensions and open channels of communication and dialogue, in the next few weeks we ought to solve these problems together," Ruiz Massieu said in reference to municipalities taken over by the opposition.

At noon Ruiz held a three and a half hour meeting with a delegation from PAN headed by legislative deputies Carlos Castillo Peraza, Fernando Gomez Mont, and Diego Fernandez de Cevallos. When the talks ended, the three said Ruiz Massieu had promised "no further use of government force in Taxco nor legal action against Taxcans" who occupied the municipal building and were dislodged by riot police early Tuesday morning.

They said a joint committee was formed "to seek solutions leading to the reconciliation of Taxcan society and to guarantee order and tranquility in the town." In addition to members of PAN, the body includes PRD leaders in Taxco, the Union of Users, Undersecretary of Government Servando Alanis Santos, and PRI federal deputy Jaime Castrejon Diaz.

However, PAN deputy Carlos Castillo Peraza said the dialogue with the governor "does not mean we recognize the PRI mayor Enrique Martini Castillo, who is doing business from city hall. We want places of power opened up for Taxcans. We'll have a solution to the conflict when the joint committee completes its labors." The group will hold its first session tomorrow, Friday, at 10 a.m.

This morning, a delegation from Peasant Torch [Antorcha Campesina—AC] marched out of the governor's residence in disgust after the chief executive declined to see the group's representatives. Leading the AC group were Eleusis Cordoba Moran, regional director for Puebla, Oaxaca, and Guerrero, and state leader Raul Jeronimo Jacinto. They met with Interior Undersecretary Jesus Ramirez. "He didn't solve a thing for us," an AC member said in reference to the situation

in the Montana Region where the group took over city halls in Alcozauca and Alpoyeca.

Cordoba Moran renewed his attack on LA JORNADA and recalled the word of AC and PRI followers to a correspondent from this newspaper in Alcozauca: "Soon you are going to get an answer from us in your newspaper."

* Alcozauca Events Recounted

90EM0088D Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 7 Jan 90 p 9

[Text] The Alcozauca Municipal Committee of the Party of the Democratic Revolution [PRD] endorsed accounts of events in the town by reporters Sara Lovera and Roberto Zamarripa. The two described violence that broke out when militant supporters of PRI and Peasant Torch [Antorcha Campesina—AC] occupied the city hall of this municipality in Guerrero State.

In a communique to LA JORNADA, the Alcozauca PRD explained that even before the 3 December elections, PRI followers had begun a campaign of intimidation in the local press. The communique pointed to statements made by PRI regional representative Edilberto Nava and published by the newspaper EL RENACIMIENTO in the town of Tlapa. The communique accused Nava of "stating in a provocative tone that PRD candidate Antonio Suarez, who ended up winning the election, would not take office on 1 January."

On the day of the vote count—10 December—PRI threatened violence if the results went against the party. This led to a decision by the Municipal Committee to ship the packages of ballots to the state legislature which ultimately ruled that PRD won the election.

The PRD communique said this decision, "stirred the wrath of Baltazar Villanueva, Arturo Salazar, and other prominent PRI supporters. From that moment on, they intensified their lobbying at all levels to modify the official recognition of Suarez's majority. This culminated in their alliance with Peasant Torch."

Thus supported, PRI occupied Alcozauca City Hall and later handed over control to Peasant Torch, the PRD said.

In the wake of these events, part of the town was left without electricity, telephone service was cut off, and one of Alozauca's two municipal vehicles broke down and was abandoned by the roadside. Under constant AC surveillance from the roof of city hall, the city council and the PRD committee decided to break "a state of isolation that by now seemed like a real state of siege." They sent a message signed by Othon Salazar and Antonio Suarez to reporters Sara Lovera and Roberto Zamarripa who published the information. Peasant Torch responded with a display advertisement in the newspaper UNOMASUNO accusing them of bias and of distorting the facts in Alcozauca.

* AC Defense of Actions

90EM0088E Mexico City UNOMASUNO in Spanish 9 Jan 90 p 32

[Peasant Torch paid advertisement addressed to President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, Guerrero Governor Jose Francisco Ruiz Massieu, and the general public; dated 8 January]

[Text] The Peasant Torch Movement [Antorcha Campesina—AC] Again Defends Itself Against Calumny and Reasserts Its Right To Exist

I. The Origin

Using as a pretext citizen disagreement with the results of municipal elections in Alcozauca, Guerrero State, and the support of Peasant Torch for this disagreement, a campaign against our movement has developed. In this context, when we publicly protested one of the most delicate and irritating manifestations of these results, a newspaper article, the campaign intensified to such an extreme that one daily accuses us of "threatening" its reporters and attacking freedom of the press. It openly calls for repression against us.

The pretext of Alcozauca is new, but the campaign is not. Almost from the time Peasant Torch came into being, those who have long considered themselves revolutionaries beyond any doubt, the only ones entitled to organize and lead the poor of Mexico, almost all of whom have now gathered in the PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution], began a defamation campaign. The only method they found for slowing the advance of an organization that did what they only talked about doing was to try to terrorize peasants and the government so that the former would reject us and the latter suppress us. They never presented any proof, they always waged a war of paper.

But the best proof that Peasant Torch is not and never has been what its enemies proclaim it to be is the growth of its influence among the masses. In politics success is judged by the conquest of people's will. Or is this not so?

II. The Problem of Alcozauca

During the elections of last 3 December in Guerrero, two slates participated in the Alcozauca city council race: one for the PRI headed by Baltazar Villanueva; and one for the PRD headed by Antonio Suarez Marquez. The latter aspired to govern the muncipality for the second time.

The polling was generally calm. It bears noting that the PRD representative failed to appear at the San Miguel El Grande polling place. PRI followers explained this as a maneuver which would later enable that party to challenge results from a precinct it already had given up for lost. PRD says its representative didn't show up because he'd been threatened with death.

At the ballot box the winner was Baltazar Villanueva, the PRI candidate, by 2,045 votes to 1,724 for Antonio

Suarez Marquez of the PRD. Then came the well-known allegations of "fraud," the challenges, and the complaints. Finally, the State Electoral Committee agreed with top PRD leaders to nullify the San Miguel polling place (docking Baltazar Villanueva 536 votes) and hand victory to the PRD.

Such disregard has no justification. There are political reasons that cannot be underestimated and that conclusively explain the PRD loss at precisely that polling place. Years ago (during the first Suarez Marquez administration) the community showed it was not very partial to the new "revolutionary" government. When the differences became more serious, in an outburst that still weighs on his party, Suarez Marquez at a public meeting broke the "Staff of Leadership," which is the indigenous symbol of authority. This gravely wounded community feelings. Later the settlement was punished. Throughout nearly all of the following two mayors' three-year terms, its Municipal Services Office received absolutely no funding. This is why most residents of Alcozauca (including the indigenous population of San Miguel El Grande) regard the triumph as theirs and are claiming it.

Peasant Torch heard and appraised these reasons before deciding to extend its support in solidarity with the PRI supporters of Alcozauca. Contrary to efforts to make them seem otherwise, they are not caciques and they are not powerful. The great majority of them are humble rural people who continue to hope that the basic principles of the revolution will be fully realized and trust that this can be achieved by casting their lot with the Institutional Revolutionary Party.

Peasant Torch supports this cause because it is just and not because we are enemies of any party or because we are being paid for it. But our support consists solely, we reiterate, of three activists and a banner at the scene and help in spreading awareness of the problem. Thus, being so false, it is total invention that the city hall is in the power of armed groups from Puebla and Oaxaca.

III. The Newspaper Articles

With the clear purpose of pulling down a fee, a story appeared in the newspaper LA JORNADA signed by Sara Lovera. We are publishing a display advertisement denouncing the journalist's lies because, although some may say otherwise, journalists lie too. So far the reporter has remained silent and has not dared to defend her story. Our challenge still stands: She lied when she said the municipality of Alcozauca was under siege by 125 AC members; she lied when she said they blocked the roads and highways; she lied when she said they came from Puebla and Oaxaca. The protest of Peasant Torch was, then, justified.

The following day, as if to confirm the inventions of Sara Lovera, Roberto Zamarripa reported in his story from Chilpancingo that Eleusis Cordova told him: "Soon you are going to get an answer from us in your newspaper." False. Total invention. Our companion said nothing of the sort. And if he had, why did none of the newspapers that also became aware of this dialogue include it?

IV. Journalistic Support

Later, and due to our legitimate defense, the newspaper "LA JORNADA" published an editorial accusing us of harassing its reporters and trying to "curtail freedom of expression and information." The same daily published letters, an advertisement paid for by the LA JORNADA employees' union, another from its writers and friends, and even its own director got into the debate. He endorsed the conduct of his writers and the veracity of their information.

Such an uncommon show of propaganda power in trying to quash a legitimate defense, such an overwhelming and uniform mobilization of "impartial opinions" can only be interpreted as convincing proof of the partisan character of the daily in question. This amounts to an attempt to support at any cost the position and electoral interests of the PRD and, in passing, to cover the retreat of the reporter caught signing a story with strong partisan hues.

But gravest of all is the conception of freedom of the press demonstrated by our accusers. According the all of them, those who protest and defend themselves from calumny and intimidation, any one who proves a journalist wrong is attacking freedom of the press and information. By this reasoning, journalists have the absolute right to do and say to citizens whatever they please, but the citizens have no right to defend themselves. In this fashion, journalists become the masters and lords of life and property, and society in general is hostage to their highly individual interests and ideological preferences. Is this really the way Mexicans must understand and accept the right to information?

Furthermore, experience shows that they only apply this standard when the protest is against them, when they or their friends are the ones being exposed. Why didn't they protest with the same energy and denounce Televisa as an enemy of freedom of the press and information when the National Action Party [PAN] was protesting almost daily its treatment during the elections in Chihuahua? Why not when the school teachers did likewise? No, gentlemen, you are not defending freedom of the press. You are defending your newspaper and your party, and that's different.

The newspaper editorial accuses us of not going to its offices to ask for rectification. But the same reply that our advertisement received shows that for us to have done so would, at the very least, have been ingenuous. In addition, public opinion needs to know that on countless occasions in the past we have relied on this remedy without getting results. Sometimes they don't let us see the reporter in charge of the sector; other times they send someone who in bad faith pretends to take notes, then the following day publishes absolutely nothing; other times our version of the facts is openly and defiantly rejected. The repression of our right to clarification has

advanced to such a degree that they even charge us double for display advertisements "because that's how the PRI is charged." To denounce all this we have on several occasions asked for an interview with the director, who has also declined to see us. In light of these facts, could we feel confident that this time we'd get justice?

Finally, it seems unobjectionable to argue that in our display advertisement and in public we are threatening the reporter. This version can only be sustained through a malevolent and capricious interpretation of our protest. Nowhere is the integrity of the reporter threatened. We do, to be sure, hold her morally responsible for the repression that the citizens of Alcozauca may suffer. A reporter is as responsible for the consequences of his acts as any other citizen and has no special privileges under the law. It is not a crime to reiterate this publicly.

V. The Attacks of PRD Leaders

That the attacks of "LA JORNADA" are part of a permanent campaign to erase Peasant Torch from the national political scene is clearly shown by the fact that they are orchestrated with the attacks of leaders, militant intellectuals, and sympathizers of the PRD. In the pages of the same daily they have gone overboard calling us "fascists," "paramilitaries," "roving bands," and other things of this sort without bothering to provide any grounds for their affronts. Even Pablo Gonzalez, one of this party's legislators, dared to call us "the lowest, most broken down, and criminal element of society." Those who are scandalized by the language we use in our display advertisement in legitimate self-defense, who infer threats in the expression "get out or we don't answer" (which, we will say in passing, is also the exclusive invention of the reporter) should face public opinion and ask themselves: What do you think, gentlemen, of this language of your intellectuals and representatives? Does or does not such language imply a clear and open threat to the freedom and physical integrity of our people and of our overall organization? What right do these people have to set themselves up, of and in themselves, as prosecutors, judges, and executioners in their own case?

And it must be kept in mind that this whole mountain of garbage has been dumped on us for the crime of supporting the PRI followers of Alcozauca and for daring to sign a display advertisement protesting the calumnies of a reporter. That really is an attack on the eighth and ninth articles of the General Constitution of the Republic which guarantee the right of every citizen to free assembly and public protest.

In addition, there is one fact that should not go unnoticed. The spokesmen and representatives of the PRD are screaming that we are an armed group that reveled in violence while taking over the city hall in Alcozauca. They call both these deeds unpardonable crimes. But, at the same time, the national press, including LA JORNADA itself, is documenting—photographs and all—violent takeovers of dozens of city halls under the direction of armed groups headed by these same accusers. We are dubbed "killers" while there are deaths galore not precisely in Alcozauca but in "peaceful" takeovers by the PRD. This is one-sided law: What is praiseworthy, virtuous, and even heroic on their part is flagrant crime on the part of their opponents and must be punished to the maximum. This is the sense of fair play and justice that certain "revolutionaries" boast about so much.

Trying to thwart the organization of the people is sheer fascism. Because we are the people; no matter who is offended, we are part of the people, an organization of rural and urban poor trying with the same right as any Mexican to struggle for a better life.

And those who try to end our legitimate organizational experiment by bringing official repression down on us and exploiting our very limited capacity for public response should know that if necessary we are ready to call on the people themselves. Thus it will be the people themselves, through organized public protest, who defend their rights. We are ready to call on thousands of AC followers from throughout the country to take part in a great national gathering to defend our irrevocable right to exist as a legitimate and legal mass organization. This is a human right which, clearly, the standardbearers of "pluralism and democracy" are trying to trample under foot.

VI. Right to Exist

Mr. President of the Republic, Mr. Governor of Guerrero:

Once again, before national public opinion, we flatly reject as absolutely unfounded and without any basis charges persistently leveled against us without any proof that we are an armed paramilitary group seeking to destabilize the country.

We are, as we have publicly sustained on more than one occasion, an organized movement that seeks to bring together the least protected and marginal strata of countryside and city for the sole purpose of seeking together with them by all means within their reach their own development and welfare, thus contributing at the same time to the development of the nation.

We are a movement that holds that at this phase of Mexico's and the world's history it is unfair to leapfrog stages and artificially accelerate social processes. Results obtained in many countries of the world have buried forever these illusions. This convinces us that the only correct and sure path for the development of Mexico is the national project headed by the current President of the Republic, Carlos Salinas de Gortari.

Our firm commitment to act within the limits of the law and with full respect for the institutions of government derives from this premise as does our active participation in the ranks of the Institutional Revolutionary

Party. These are not simple and opportunistic political calculations but mature decisions born of profound convictions and principles.

We understand that in a pluralistic country like Mexico there must be plenty of people who do not agree with our viewpoint. They are within their rights. But they are not when in order to attack us and demonstrate their disagreement they resort to calumny, distortion of facts, and incriminatory accusations.

We demand that they do political and ideological battle with legitimate resources and serious and responsible arguments and that they abandon once and for all their McCarthyite experiments.

Before national public opinion and before the highest authorities of the country, we assert once again our right to exist as one more political force on the national scene. In accordance with this, we claim full rights to assistance in expressing our viewpoints in the national media, to participate in the party we have freely selected without being subject to insult for doing so, and to give our support to whom we judge suitable without being branded criminals for doing so.

Most respectfully,

The National Leadership of the Torch Movement

Mexico, D.F., 8 January 1990

Responsible for publication: Jesus Manuel Cano C.

* AC Origins Noted

90EM0088F Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 11 Jan 90 p 17

[Marco Rascon commentary: "A Torch for Modernity"; for related reporting see the FBIS LATIN AMERICA DAILY REPORT of 28 Jun 89 (FBIS-LAT-89-123) p 18 and 9 Dec 88 (FBIS-LAT-88-237) pp 17-18]

[Text] Any social and political undertaking, and especially one seeking to modernize the country, encourages the emergence of forces it can rely on for support while repressing those that challenge it.

The elections in Guerrero State and the reappearance of Peasant Torch [Antorcha Campesina—AC] (which has made many past appearances) raise an old question all over again. The group has been active in takeovers of city halls on behalf of the PRI and has launched threats against journalists from LA JORNADA. What about Peasant Torch? The issue invites an elucidation of thoughts left as implications.

Let's say briefly that AC had its origins some decades ago in a group called the Mexican Party of the Proletariat (PMP). Then (when its extreme dogmatism turned it into a caricature of itself) PMP created the National Federation of Bolshevik Organizations (FNOB), a student movement that was completely isolated from the student struggle. In the 70s, they spread to Chapingo and agricultural schools around the country. They were involved in takeovers of provincial universities, the conflicts at the Popular Preparatory School of Tacuba (where they stayed until they were disbanded), and above all at the University of Chapingo. Their appearance in the peasant struggle is also ridden with conflict. It began at the start of the 80s with a campaign against the Independent Peasant Organization of the Veracruz Portion of the Huasteca (OCIHV) [the region including parts of the states of San Luis Potosi, Hidalgo, Veracruz, and Tamaulipas adjacent to the coastal strip running roughly from Tampico to Veracruz]. Thereafter they showed up almost everywhere in the country: Puebla, Veracruz, Oaxaca, Chiapas, Michoacan, and also in the north.

A peculiar characteristic of the development and growth of Peasant Torch is its perfect synchronization with the distribution of public funds. AC's development parallels the spread of the rural stores of Conasupo [National Company for Basic Commodities]. Beginning with the administration of Raul Salinas de Gortari as director of the government-owned firm, AC enjoyed unhindered growth. AC militants made their appearance in the wake of Conasupo openings, and after their appearance came the deaths of peasants. The Independent Peasant Union (UCI) and the National Front Against Repression have provided testimony about this war that was waged throughout the 80s. UCI has suffered permanent harassment, and its members have been murdered and jailed. The Salinas administration has endowed Peasant Torch with an infrastructure: members whose names appear on Conasupo payrolls as workers, vehicles...and arms. One characteristic of this organization has been its paramilitary aspect, which has received unqualified tolerance and support from officialdom.

Clearly, the wrath of Peasant Torch has (as the saying goes) even bitten the hand that feeds it. In the states of Puebla, Veracruz, and Oaxaca members of the National Peasant Confederation [CNC] have denounced encroachments by Peasant Torch. Even governors (and some hangers-on such as Neme Castillo) are constant targets of pressure and blackmail by the organization whose campaigns unfold on a national scale.

In 1988, Peasant Torch demanded and got incorporation as part of the PRI. The readjustments at Conasupo have not affected it in the least. To the contrary, it is flourishing and thriving in the favorable breezes of modern nepotism. AC emerged in the countryside in order to neutralize and paralyze peasant organizations through the use of violence. Firm and revealing proof of this is that despite its "peasant" connotations, the group does not appear and never figures in the activities of such official peasant organizations as the Permanent Agrarian Congress (CAP). AC came into being as an elite paramilitary force in areas mired in rural poverty and has served as an effective arm of repression in local struggles. With the emergence of the movement headed by Cardenas in urban and rural areas, AC has begun to have lots to do.

The case of Guerrero is revealing since it is the first use of AC in electoral conflicts (despite its nonparticipation in the elections themselves). PRI followers in Guerrero invited the devil into their parlors, and this favor is going to cost them very dearly. AC, like any soldier of fortune, will exact payment as an elite force at the service of official modernism in the countryside.

In the city, they have given themselves the name of People's Torch. At present, they are following in the footsteps of the National Solidarity Program (Pronasol) and have already turned up in Chimalhuacan, Chalco, and the outskirts of cities where public funding is likely to be available.

Peasant, People's, and Worker Torch is a creature of officialdom, and political responsibility for it lies with public officials, including Raul Salinas himself.

This makes it urgent that an investigation be launched against an organization whose sources of support and goals are clear. It has contributed nothing to democracy and the social and political strengthening of the country. Quite the contrary.

Costa Rica

Arias Says Nicaragua 'Lesson' for El Salvador

PA2702013590 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 0035 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] San Jose, 27 Feb (ACAN-EFE)—President Oscar Arias expressed hope today that the "civic lesson" taught by the Nicaraguan people, who on 25 February massively voted "against violence," will be assimilated by the Salvadoran guerrillas.

Oscar Arias, winner of the 1987 Nobel Peace Prize because of his efforts for Central American peace, told a news conference that the Nicaraguan people had shown they wanted "to change bullets for votes and weapons for ballot boxes."

"Let this be a message for the brother people of El Salvador," the president added, stating in reference to the process of deep changes in the socialist world: "We cannot let only (Mikhail) Gorbachev write the history of freedom in our times; we have much to say, and we will say it without fear."

"Those who have not understood that the Salvadoran people are tired of war do not realize that the world is moving in another direction, on the side of negotiation and the ballot boxes, which will solve conflicts," Arias reiterated in reference to the Salvadoran guerrillas.

Arias said that in Nicaragua, "wisdom prevailed over the action of the ill-fated extreme right and extreme left."

He suggested to Nicaraguan President-elect Violeta Chamorro a "substantial reduction" in the Army and commented that, in his opinion, the world "will be generous" with the new Nicaraguan government and will help it economically.

He also praised President Daniel Ortega "for his very noble and humble attitude of recognizing that the people wanted a change."

The Costa Rican president believes Chamorro and Ortega will have to hold many talks during the transition period, as is occurring in Chile, where President-elect Patricio Aylwin has had intense contact with General Augusto Pinochet for the transfer of power after 16 years of military government.

Arias said he does not believe the U.S. aid to Nicaragua will mean cuts in the aid the U.S. Congress allocates to the other Central American countries.

"Few people have suffered and sacrificed so much as the Nicaraguan people, and few people deserve peace as much as the Nicaraguans," he stressed.

Arias reiterated that Nicaragua's example should serve so "those who take up arms will finally understand that this is not the path."

Madrigal Lauds Electoral Results in Nicaragua

PA2602172990 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1625 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] San Jose, 26 Feb (ACAN-EFE)—Costa Rican Foreign Minister Rodrigo Madrigal said today that Nicaraguan opposition candidate Violeta Chamorro's electoral victory will provoke "a highly important change for Central America."

Madrigal, whose statements were broadcast in San Jose, said he rejoiced over the victory achieved by Chamorro, who defeated National Sandinist Liberation Front (FSLN) candidate Daniel Ortega, who is currently president of the Republic, on 25 February.

"I compare the Nicaraguan people's feat with Czechoslovakia's case. A truly civic fervor has moved the Nicaraguan people to wage a great battle for democracy; it is their victory and theirs alone," the foreign minister said.

Madrigal Nieto recognized Ortega's "gentlemanly" gesture of publicly recognizing Chamorro's victory and guaranteeing that the Sandinists will respect the people's will.

In his opinion, "a road toward peace and prosperity has now been opened in Nicaragua, despite the difficult circumstances that Chamorro will face. There will be no miracles, nothing will be achieved overnight, but it represents the first step toward progress, justice, and liberty."

Madrigal Nieto added that Chamorro called him early this morning to "share her victory, and I was deeply touched."

He said the political outlook in Central and South America is "very beautiful and encouraging," with democratically elected governments and "a democratic tendency."

"There are only two black spots on the continent now, Cuba and Haiti, but that will change because the democratic tide is taking over the world, as it did in East Europe," the Costa Rican foreign minister predicted.

Madrigal emphasized that "no one can claim responsibility" for the Nicaraguan opposition's victory because "it is clearly and specifically the will of the Nicaraguan people."

The Costa Rican foreign minister believes the FSLN, which has been ruling since 1979 when it ousted dictator Anastasio Somoza, will continue to play an important role in Nicaragua's politics; and he suggested that the current situation, similar to that in Panama, might allow Nicaraguan society's demilitarization.

El Salvador

Foreign Ministry Pleased With Nicaragua Elections

PA2702044690 San Salvador Canal Doce Television in Spanish 0310 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] In a statement read by Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Valdivieso, the Salvadoran Foreign Ministry voiced its satisfaction today over Violeta Barrios de Chamorro's victory in the Nicaraguan presidential elections held on 25 February. Mrs. Chamorro's victory brings high hopes for the social and economic development of Nicaragua and all of Central America, with the understanding that democracy is now the common denominator joining both countries, El Salvador and Nicaragua, the statement said.

It added: The Foreign Ministry of El Salvador is pleased with the results of this election, as it is the victory of the people of Nicaragua, democracy, and the wishes for freedom of all Central America.

Regardless of the final results, the deputy foreign minister said, El Salvador would have been respectful of the people's decision. He added: With the victory of Mrs. Violeta Chamorro, our government will carefully observe the process when President Ortega transfers power to the freely elected authorities.

The document stated further: In Nicaragua, democracy has proven its effectiveness, and the Nicaraguan people—who are the authors and victims of their own tragedy—understood that peace can only be achieved by recovering national dignity in an atmosphere of tranquility, without violence, and with a firm determination for a better future.

The document read by Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Valdivieso added: The Esquipulas II process, and specifically the agreements signed by the five Central American presidents in Tela and San Isidro de Coronado, call for the rebel armed groups operating in Central America to voluntarily lay down their weapons and join the democratic processes of our countries and thus strengthen our nations. To that effect, our government is anxious to restore a firm and lasting peace in Central America, and holds responsible those groups who make use of violence in their outrageous endeavor to achieve power through undemocratic means that lead to death, destruction, and poverty.

Concerning the suspension of diplomatic relations between Nicaragua and our country, the deputy foreign minister said relations will be restored soon. We must first wait for President Alfredo Cristiani to return from his visit to Taiwan to study the situation, he concluded.

ARENA President Discusses Nicaraguan Elections

PA2602201990 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSU in Spanish 1800 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Nationalist Republican Alliance Party [ARENA] President Armando Calderon Sol said Violeta Barrios de Chamorro's victory comes within the framework of a different stage in the region. Nicaraguans have taken a momentous and historic step with yesterday's elections, he said. Democracy is being consolidated in the region; the region is moving along the path of democracy, Armando Calderon Sol told the press this morning in commenting on the elections in Nicaragua.

Political Parties Call for Talks With FMLN

PA2702022190 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2358 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] San Salvador, 26 Feb (ACAN-EFE)—The Salvadoran Government expressed satisfaction today with the victory of the Nicaraguan opposition, and the Salvadoran political parties called for a political opening and the guerrillas' incorporation into the Salvadoran democratic process.

The Communications Secretariat of the Presidency asserted that the Nicaraguan election "was a victory for democracy and proved it is the correct route for our countries to take to choose their leaders and decide their own destinies."

The Salvadoran Government accepted that President Daniel Ortega "kept his promise to allow free elections and, above all, to respect the people's will."

The directorate also reaffirmed its "decision to continue backing the Central American pacification process through democratic methods, so our people can find a sure way to democracy, freedom, and progress."

The governing rightist Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA), the opposing Christian Democratic Party (PDC), and the Social Christian People's Movement (MPSC) agreed that now, more than ever, there should be no obstacles to true dialogue and negotiation with the Salvadoran guerrillas.

ARENA President Armando Calderon Sol stated that Chamorro's victory "would not be of value if Salvadorans do not show that we want peace." He added: "Now, more than ever, we must be politically open to seek reconciliation and the incorporation of the guerrillas into the Salvadoran democratic process."

Calderon Sol, who is also the San Salvador mayor, called for a dialogue that, "without being a defeat for the FMLN (Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front), will guarantee their incorporation" into political life. Likewise, he asked the U.S. Government to give Central America preferential treatment to facilitate economic development and the consolidation of democracies.

He added that this was the moment to renew relations with Nicaragua. Relations were suspended on 26 November 1989 when President Alfredo Cristiani accused Sandinist authorities of sending weapons to the FMLN, who had undertaken a strong military offensive since 11 November.

Commenting on Chamorro's victory, PDC General Secretary Fidel Chavez asserted: "There is a prevailing international climate that favors a negotiation process that will strengthen democracy in El Salvador."

"We hope that the new Nicaraguan government is a participative and pluralist democracy and contributes to the process of detente in the area," said Chavez Mena.

Chavez, the opposition's main leader, requested that the Sandinists' defeat "not be used by Salvadoran extremists—who do not promote negotiations to solve the armed conflict—to polarize the situation instead of favoring a dialogue."

Leftist MPSC leader Ruben Zamora stated that Ortega was defeated because "he was worn out by 10 years of war and the impossibility of governing the country with it."

"The Salvadoran Government should understand that the same destiny awaits it if it does not overcome war. If we really want free elections in El Salvador, these have to be preceded by negotiations with the guerrillas," said Zamora. "As for the United States," he added, "it should suspend military aid and use it instead for economic assistance to the area."

According to the Nicaraguan Supreme Electoral Council, National Opposition Union candidate Violeta Chamorro obtained close to 55 percent of the votes over the 40 percent obtained by the Sandinist candidate and present Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega.

Colonel Sees Peace Closer With Chamorro Victory

PA2602210890 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSU in Spanish 1800 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Report by Carlos Mario Marquez]

[Text] Colonel Mauricio Ernesto Vargas, commander of the Third Infantry Brigade in San Miguel Department, felt today that the victory of Violeta Chamorro in the 25 February Nicaraguan elections was positive for the Central American region. He said: Today the waters will return to their normal levels, and democracy will prevail in Central America. In his initial assessment of the situation Col. Vargas said the following:

[Begin recording] [Vargas] At first, we can say there will be a harmonious project in Central America, and this means that there will be detente rather a confrontation, in politically ideological terms. In economic terms, we can expect a market economy. In political terms, the predominant factors will be the Republic and democracy. This is in general terms. I feel that as far as stability in Central America is concerned, the waters are returning to levels of greater normalcy.

From El Salvador's standpoint, we can strongly say that we feel peace is much closer. As the Nicaraguan political ideology and system change, so does the support that the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] received from Nicaragua, as well as the backing provided by Nicaragua to attack El Salvador's political, economic, and social system. This must make the FMLN change. They will have to realize that they must continue with the dialogue and that they can no longer toy with it. They must enter a dialogue, but must give specific signs that they want to incorporate their project into the democratic project. This means there will be a reduction in support for the FMLN in terms of weapons, materiel, and equipment. We must be very careful and on the lookout in the period that remains before transition toward democracy in Nicaragua, as the Sandinists may begin to start making very large shipments of materiel to El Salvador so as not to leave tracks in Nicaragua.

I do want to say that the dialogue becomes more important, and the FMLN must understand it has adopted a greater responsibility and must be more serious regarding the peace project. I see peace closer at hand, and I do so from the different standpoints I mentioned in Central America. It is up to us, a democratic society, not to adopt overconfident stances. The idea is not to polarize the situation further. Today, there must be wisdom and understanding to seek peace by incorporating the FMLN into the democratic process so it halts the war inside our country.

[Marquez] The only way you see for the FMLN is to join political life as a party and participate in an election so things are decided through the ballots.

[Vargas] Indeed, we have said it. Their political, economic, and social project will be valid as long as the people choose it as their project. However, there is no room for that political, economic, and social project in this society if it comes through means of violence, terror, threats, and blackmail. We must really understand that the democratic process is the way to settle political, economic, and social conflicts and make a fairer and more equitable society for all Salvadorans.

[Marquez] To what do you attribute the FSLN's defeat in El Salvador?

[Vargas] There are many causes. However, the chief cause stems from cultural, sociological, and anthropological factors. We were born and grew up in liberty. We were born and grew up in a democratic society. We cannot implement foreign, enslaving, and absolutist patterns in one society. Although the Sandinists had 10 years to change that new generation, those things that we carry within ourselves, our culture and characteristics, have truly shown what the peoples of America and Central America and our Nicaraguan brothers want, and what Salvadorans also want. This has been proven in Nicaragua. I hope we do not have to have more destruction, bloodshed, and death. I repeat this to the democratic society. One should not adopt an overconfident stance. Instead, we must adopt a realistic stance in line with the country's interest, so our society does not become further polarized. I ask the FMLN to join society. This is the right time to do so through dialogue with a valid interlocutor—the UN secretary general—

and with a valid organization—the United Nations. They should be logical and understanding and seek to join the democratic process, because the way they can avoid sustaining a defeat is by truly and objectively joining a peace process, which is what our country needs so much. [end recording]

FMLN Regrets Nicaraguan Election Results

PA2702011890 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0026 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Communique issued by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, FMLN, General Command in El Salvador on 26 February]

[Text] Concerning the general elections held in Nicaragua on 25 February, the FMLN hereby announces to the Salvadoran people and the international community:

1. The Nicaraguan elections were an example for the entire world of the democratic vocation and commitment that the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] took to the final consequences in a bold manner with full historical responsibility.

2. Only the 1979 victory and the consolidation of the Sandinist people's revolution that followed made it possible to hold these honest and democratic elections, which were truly exemplary. The elections were held in spite of the numerous, illegitimate, and even criminal obstacles imposed over 10 years' time by U.S. policy.

3. We truly regret the adverse results obtained by the FSLN in these elections in which, nevertheless, it was confirmed that the FSLN is the largest and most influential political force in Nicaragua. This is undoubtedly the main guarantee for the development of democracy toward greater social justice and participation by the people.

4. As revolutionaries, we are proud of the honesty, responsibility, foresight, and the reaction of our Sandinist brothers. This political behavior will undoubtedly lead to greater legitimacy, power, and opportunities for victory for the FSLN itself as well as for democratic and revolutionary forces throughout the region.

5. The democratic process begun by the FSLN in Nicaragua is in contrast to the systematic crushing of public liberties, massive repression, dictatorial authoritarianism, intransigence, and the monopoly of power by the fascist sectors of the Salvadoran Armed Forces, the oligarchy, and its party, ARENA [Nationalist Republican Alliance].

6. In the face of this new situation that has arisen from a genuine Nicaraguan democratic process, we will intensify our efforts to achieve real democracy for El Salvador, for which our people have shed and continue to shed blood. With this historical objective, the FMLN will act in concert with all the political and social sectors and forces that share democratic and national development aspirations.

7. We call on the United States and the Salvadoran Government to stop hindering the negotiations that will lead to a regime of democracy, social justice, and lasting peace that can only be supported by a broad national consensus. [Signed] The FMLN General Command: Commanders Francisco Jovel, Jorge Shafik Handal, Eduardo Sancho, Joaquin Villalobos, and Salvador Sanchez Ceren
El Salvador, 26 February 1990

Monsignor Rosa Chavez Views Nicaragua, Nation

PA2602204390 San Salvador La Voz Panamericana in Spanish 1430 GMT 26 Feb 90

[News conference by Monsignor Gregorio Rosa Chavez, auxiliary bishop of San Salvador, with unidentified reporters at the Metropolitican Cathedral in San Salvador on 25 February—recorded]

[Text] [Rosa Chavez] We believe that the elections in Nicaragua will mark a new phase in the Central American situation. Things will not be the same in that neighboring nation, and I believe that the evolution will favor the achievement of peace at the regional level. Moreover, there are other elements at the world level that also allow us to have hope. Let us not forget that the United Nations in particular is striving to organize a new round of talks. Therefore, we believe that the conditions are being set so peace may be achieved this year. The church urges those who have anything to do with this decision to do it and thus pay homage to our Archbishop Monsignor [Oscar Arnulfo] Romero, who died 10 years ago, and a man who struggled for peace, Engineer [Jose Napoleon] Duarte. That was our proposal in today's homily.

[Reporter] Will there be any demand for an investigation or resolution of this case even though Msgr. Romero was assassinated 10 years ago?

[Rosa Chavez] We are convinced that the solution of this case basically depends on a political decision to do it. Therefore, it could remain unsolved or it could be quickly solved. We would like to think that a political decision would be adopted, but we have no information to indicate that this will be so. Instead, it is more a wish, I believe it is a legitimate wish, of all the Salvadoran people. They want the case to be solved and, above all, they want justice. This blood should bear fruit by achieving peace and respect among men, as a new form of social coexistence in El Salvador. Violence should no longer exist among us and reconciliation should quickly become a reality among Salvadorans.

[Reporter] A WASHINGTON POST article revealed that Colonel [Guillermo Alfredo] Benavides has recently been seen at a seaside [words indistinct]. What is your opinion about this?

[Rosa Chavez] We believe that the trials currently under way will be another test [preceding word in English] for Salvadoran justice. It has failed almost all other tests [preceding word in English]. Let us see how it fares this

time, not only for the sake of its prestige, but also for the sake of the honor of such a much-sacrificed people and the need to give the people hope. I believe that important steps have been taken, but the time has come to prove that these steps will lead to a truly just conclusion—or if they will once again be cut short. Let us hope that progress will be achieved and, as we have stated on other occasions, that the names of the intellectual authors of this crime will also be known.

[Reporter] Monsignor, referring to the week's events, you did not talk about the corruption case mentioned by the government. What implications might this case have?

[Rosa Chavez] I think it is too soon to have a clear idea of what may be behind this new situation. We must wait awhile and learn the details. We believe that there are worse things that should be solved. We would not like to expand on this. All we would like to say is that we think there are still things we should know to have a clear idea of what is behind the announcement made this week.

[Reporter] Do you think a fraud can be perpetrated in the Nicaraguan elections?

[Rosa Chavez] We think that, regardless of who wins in Nicaragua, it will represent a positive step for that country and all of the region. The Nicaraguan church shares our views, meaning the pastors of that nation. That is why we believe that the achievement of peace could be near for El Salvador. How nice it would be if we availed ourselves of this opportunity.

[Reporter] Monsignor, the Archbishopric's legal assistance has helped clear many deaths in El Salvador. Monsignor Romero was killed 10 years ago. Does the Catholic Church and the legal assistance office have any idea of who might be behind this death?

[Rosa Chavez] We have said many times that there are many clues that lead to certain conclusions but, according to our current legal system, those clues cannot be used as evidence. Thus, one can be certain of who the killers are and still not be able to prove it. That is one of the great frustrations created by our legal system. It is obvious that we have several ideas, which we have commented on many times, of who the Monsignor's killers may be. Once more I say that this is a matter of making a political decision, particularly to clear the case or let it remain unsolved.

[Reporter] Monsignor, former President Duarte has died. What is your opinion of Duarte's role concerning the church?

[Rosa Chavez] We will state it this afternoon during the special mass with almost all the bishops of El Salvador. That answers your question. I believe we should see three levels: The man, the Christian, and the politician. The letter that the archbishop sent to Duarte's widow, Mrs. Ines, states some ideas on the man, the Christian, and the politician. This afternoon the archbishop will have a special homily and he will undoubtedly give a more complete description of the church's views. We can add that he was a man who tried to be consistent with his Christian faith. He was a man who was open to the church's proposal.

7 Rebels Killed, 4 Wounded in Recent Clashes

PA2402203090 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1750 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] San Salvador, 24 Feb (ACAN - EFE)—The Armed Forces Press Committee (Coprefa) has reported that fighting between the Salvadoran Army and guerrillas has left 14 casualties in the last few hours in five of the country's 14 departments.

Coprefa indicated that seven guerrillas, including a woman, were killed and four others were wounded in armed clashes with government troops in Usulutan, Chalatenango, Cuscatlan, and San Salvador Departments.

The Army reported that three of its soldiers were wounded, two of them in a guerrilla ambush in Coatepeque, in Santa Ana Department, and one in fighting in Usulutan Department.

Rebels Kill Intruder in 'Restricted Area'

PA2502010590 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0018 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] We have just received a report from Morazan saying that at 0930 on 19 February, near Meanguera, FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] internal security personnel detected the entry into a restricted area of an unidentified person, who appeared to be exploring. Our troops ordered him to halt, but the unidentified individual then took out a pistol [passage indistinct]. He was killed. He was wearing a military emblem with the name (Makarios Mark) [words indistinct].

Rebels Suspend Military Activities Until Midnight

PA2502134790 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 1200 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] We remind our fighting companions, the urban commandos, that by order of the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front], all military activities have been suspended until midnight today, 25 February, after the burial of the former president of the Republic, Jose Napoleon Duarte.

This is being done as a gesture of the FMLN's goodwill.

Column Scores Senator Leahy's Views on Policy

PA2602013890 San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 14 Feb 90 p 7

[From "Note of the Day" column: "They 'Roar' in Indignation Against A Victimized People"]

[Text] A report published by THE NEW HERALD in Miami on 9 February says: "The state of mind prevailing in the (U.S.) Congress, which favors putting a stop to the bloodshed in El Salvador, became evident on 8 February, during a heated Senate hearing and in a bill that conditions U.S. aid both to the Salvadoran Government's behavior and the leftist guerrillas' behavior...."

To cut a long story short, during "the heated hearing" Senator Patrick Leahy (D), Vermont, "roared" in anger over "the myopia that has characterized Washington's policy in El Salvador," because no firm positions have been adopted on the "assassinations" that have been perpetrated during this time. The Salvadorans' defender at the hearing, Assistant Secretary Bernard Aronson, asked Leahy "if he had talked with Father Ellacuria, because Ellacuria sought a negotiated solution."

Just look at the formulas the White House sponsors for solving the violence in El Salvador!

Consider the following:

Leahy does not get upset over the murders of intellectuals, writers, and reporters that the subversives have committed for the last 10 years.

Leahy has never worried about the children, women, peasants, and soldiers on patrol who have been killed or maimed by the booby traps placed by the subversives on the trails and side roads, the farms and haciendas.

Leahy must have never heard about the murder of persons in the interior of the country, whose only fault was that of having been relatives of soldiers or noncommissioned officers serving in the Army.

Judging from his stand, Leahy feels that the destruction of industrial plants, electric towers, telephone systems, shops, businesses, schools, health services, coffee mills, and of just about any visible sign of the Salvadoran productive system are "normal war procedures."

Leahy has never mentioned the devastation provoked by last November's "all-out offensive to the top" or the thousands of casualties resulting from this attack against the defenseless population in the outskirts of San Salvador.

Leahy does not stop to consider that the government is prosecuting those responsible for the murder of the six Jesuits, and tries to blame all of the people for the crimes committed by a handful of individuals.

Leahy is indifferent to the frightening needs of the vast majority of the Salvadorans as a result of the fact that the health services have deteriorated because of the economic bankruptcy stemming from the terrorist aggression.

Leahy does not feel any disgust in the face of the programs and demands made by the rebels, which, if applied, would kill democracy in this nation.

In summary, Leahy does not defend democracy, nor does he defend the fact that the Salvadorans went to the polls en masse to voice their stand against the terrorist plans to seize power. Cristiani has not been in power for six months yet, and Leahy and the people like him want Cristiani to yield power to the groups who did not garner even three percent of the votes in the last elections.

U.S. Boycott To Have No Major Impact on Coffee

PA2602114590 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSKL in Spanish 1214 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] The position of certain U.S. importers who are trying to boycott Salvadoran coffee will not have a major impact on our country, according to Jose Roberto Argueta, manager of the Salvadoran Association of Coffee Processors and Exporters [Abecafe].

As had been reported earlier, the Neighbor to Neighbor Firm announced it would stop buying Salvadoran coffee in protest over human rights violations in El Salvador. According to the Abecafe manager, this firm does not represent a huge market for Salvadoran coffee exporters. Therefore, exports should remain stable in the next few months.

President Cristiani Visits Taiwan

WA2602175990

For Taiwan reportage on the visit to Taiwan by President Alfredo Felix Cristiani, including his agenda, welcoming ceremony, reception in honor of the ROC Government and a tour of the science museum, see the Taiwan section of the 22 February and subsequent issues of the China DAILY REPORT.

Guatemala

Official Spokesperson Views Nicaraguan Elections

PA2602211390 Paris AFP in Spanish 2032 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Guatemala City, 26 Feb (AFP)—The Guatemalan Government stated today that the 25 February elections in Nicaragua are a "victory for the Central American peace process," and it expressed its confidence that "the official results will be respected."

"We must reiterate something that is important, and that is the victory of the Esquipulas agreement, the victory of the peace process in Central America," Guatemalan Government spokesperson Claudia Arenas said.

"The results of those elections are naturally the result of the effort of the Nicaraguan people, but they are also the result of the effort of the five Central American presidents who began this peace process," she added.

Arenas commented that after the installation of new governments in El Salvador, Honduras, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua, the peace process will undergo some changes, but "all the Central American governments and peoples are eager for peace."

Guatemalan President Vinicio Cerezo is, after Daniel Ortega's electoral defeat in Nicaragua, the only president who remains in office out of the five presidents who began implementing the Esquipulas peace plan in 1987. Cerezo has not issued any statement about the Nicaraguan election results so far.

Government Seeks Revocation of Officers' Sentence

PA2402201990 Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 20 Feb 90 p 2

[Text] It has been officially announced that the Attorney General's Office, on behalf of the government, has filed two requests for revocation with the Supreme Court of Justice (CSJ) because it disagrees with the sentences given to the Army officers who were tried for the attempted coup of 9 May.

Attorney Jose Fernando Castellanos Arriola, assistant to the attorney general, filed one of the requests against the decision of the Fourth Court of Appeals that, serving as a court-martial, handed down a three-year sentence to the 11 officers accused of leading the 9 May abortive coup.

The other request was filed by Jose Antonio Mendoza, senior attorney in the office, also against a Fourth Court of Appeals ruling, in the case of discharged officers Major Gustavo Adolfo Diaz Lopez and Lieutenant Colonel Gustavo Adolfo Padilla Morales.

Five of the officers on active duty had been sentenced to 10 years in prison, but the court reduced their sentences to three years. Then the officers were set free because the sentences were commutable. The only one still incarcerated is Colonel Julio Cesar Augusto Padilla Gonzalez, who, besides the three-year sentence for attempted rebellion, was also sentenced to one year for desertion.

Meanwhile, the Fifth Court sentenced Major Diaz Lopez and Lieutenant Colonel Padilla Morales to seven years in prison and a 20,000-quetzal fine for civil liabilities. However, the Fourth Court of Appeals reduced their sentences to three years and four months, commutable, and reduced the fine to 2,500 quetzales each.

According to reports from the Judicial Branch, the CSJ requested the files on the case on 19 Februry to study them and decide whether to uphold or revoke the sentences.

Honduras

Callejas Reacts to Nicaraguan Election Results

PA2602160090 Tegucigalpa Voz de Honduras Network in Spanish 1145 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Interview with President Rafael Leonardo Callejas by Lucia Alvarado in Tegucigalpa; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Alvarado] Good morning.

[Callejas] Good morning.

[Alvarado] What is your initial reaction to the Nicaraguan elections?

[Callejas] I am extremely pleased. The Nicaraguan people voted in a democratic process and chose the government they want to rule their destiny for the next six-year term, according to the Nicaraguan Constitution.

[Alvarado] What will happen to the contras in Honduras?

[Callejas] Look, that issue will be settled later. The important thing is that an electoral process has taken place in Nicaragua, and the people have achieved a goal. Based on this, we will logically establish the mechanisms to approach the achievement of goals that were stated in the Esquipulas agreements.

[Alvarado] What about Honduras' relations with Nicaragua?

[Callejas] We have maintained relations with President Ortega's government up to now, and we hope to establish good relations with President Violeta Chamorro's government.

[Alvarado] Have you contacted them, Mr. President?

[Callejas] No, not yet.

[Alvarado] Will you soon?

[Callejas] We will try to as soon as possible. I want to add that we feel that these results—as clearly stated in President Ortega's speech—represent a change in Nicaragua's institutional life. This is the first time they will embark on an open and honest democratic process. Logically, the fact that the opposition won in Nicaragua indicates that the Nicaraguan people are clearly aware that liberty, democracy, and peace are vital elements for the Central American region.

[Alvarado] What about the region's destiny, based on UNO's [National Opposition Union's] victory in Nicaragua?

[Callejas] A democratic scheme implies that the achievement of peace is possible. Most important for us was not necessarily who won, but that the system won. Within this context, democracy has won in Nicaragua, and that gives us a great opportunity, and it allows us to predict a new horizon of peace. I am truly pleased and happy about the results of the electoral process in Nicaragua.

[Alvarado] Do you think peace will now be definitely achieved in Central America, Mr. President?

[Callejas] It will be much easier.

[Alvarado] Much easier.

Reiterates Wish for Contras To Leave

PA2602213490 Paris AFP in Spanish 2028 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Tegucigalpa, 26 Feb (AFP)—President Rafael Callejas has reiterated he wants the Nicaraguan contras to get out of his country. However, Nicaraguan Resistance [RN] leaders stated they will not lay down their weapons until they feel their goals have been met.

In statements to the press Callejas said he will strive for the implementation of the peace agreements signed by the Central American presidents, which called for the Nicaraguan rebels' demobilization, and more so now that the opposition won the Nicaraguan elections.

The Honduran president said the process of demobilizing the contras is not a unilateral decision, but rather a commitment of the area's five governments with the participation of international organizations.

However, the leaders of approximately 10,000 contras established in Yamales, in eastern Honduras, said that "regardless of who is president in Nicaragua, we are going to remain armed until our objectives have been met."

The anti-Sandinist leaders conditioned the laying down of weapons to the reduction of the Sandinist Army and the elimination of the Interior Ministry and the other security corps of the Nicaraguan state.

The RN's new military chief, Israel Galeano (Commander Franklin), said they will remain armed because President Daniel Ortega had warned that if the opposition won, "the state of war would continue."

Galeano added that now that the opposition has won in Nicaragua, the RN will wait until 25 April, when Violeta de Chamorro takes over, to see if the promised changes take place.

Meanwhile, Commander Dimas (Marcos Orlando Navarro) stated that the RN has 6,000 men "who remain well united and with high morale" in Jinotega, Chontales, and Matagalpa Departments.

He added there are between 8,000 to 10,000 contras in the Yamales and El Paraiso camps along the Honduran-Nicaraguan border.

Meanwhile, Honduran business leader Joaquin Luna—who was an observer in the Nicaraguan elections—said Chamorro told him that one of her first actions as president will be that of facilitating the return of the contras and their relatives to Nicaragua.

To this effect, he added, Chamorro will reportedly issue "a decree granting broad and unconditional amnesty for all Nicaraguans who are outside their country so they may return with full guarantees," a decision that will "undeniably favor Honduras," he emphasized.

Nicaragua

Ortega Visits Chamorro To Discuss Reconciliation

PA2702022990 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 0200 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Managua, 26 Feb (ACAN-EFE)—Current Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, defeated at the 25 February elections, visited virtual President-elect Violeta Chamorro this afternoon and embraced her in the presence of prominent foreign observers.

According to observers who attended the meeting, Chamorro and Ortega talked for half an hour "about the reconciliation of the country" following the opposition victory.

Ortega arrived at Violeta Chamorro's residence at 1830 (0030 GMT) accompanied by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, OAS Secretary General Joao Baena Soares, and Elliot Richardson, the UN secretary general's special envoy for the Nicaraguan elections.

The Sandinist leader was also accompanied by Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto and Carlos Fernando Chamorro, one of the sons of the president-elect. Carlos Fernando Chamorro is the director of BARRICADA, the Sandinist National Liberation Front mouthpiece.

Parties Reportedly Discuss Army, Power Transfer

PA2702005690 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 2344 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Managua, 26 Feb (DPA)—Leaders of the National Opposition Union (UNO), winner of the presidential, legislative, and municipal council elections, are reportedly discussing with leaders of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) the transfer of power scheduled to take place on 25 April.

The consultations between the two organizations' leaders began even before Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, who was running for reelection, recognized Violeta Chamorro's victory in the 25 February elections.

Some sources, who asked to remain unidentified, said UNO and FSLN leaders are discussing the Nicaraguan Army's existence.

During the campaign, UNO called for a reduction in the Army and elimination of the Patriotic Military Service (SMP), which forces youths from 16 to 25 to join the Armed Forces.

The source also said most of the members of the Sandinist People's Army (EPS) and Interior Ministry voted for the ruling party, something that provides the FSLN with reasons to include this topic in the talks.

UNO leaders have not reported these talks. Commander Daniel Ortega expressed a desire for reconciliation when he recognized Violeta Chamorro's victory.

There are unconfirmed reports that some politicians who were election observers are serving as mediators in the talks.

Commander Ubeda Says Army Has Role To Play

PA2702135590 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1226 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] The Interior Ministry and the Army are constitutional institutions that exist in all states of the world. This statement was made by Commander Juan Jose Ubeda when referring to the people's concern about the firmness of our Armed Forces.

He said that the Armed Forces will exist under all governments, regardless of the new political situation. The officer said that in this case some adjustments will have to be made, but the Armed Forces will not disappear, as some have speculated.

Ubeda spoke about political reciprocity by the National Opposition Union [UNO] in response to the democratic position of the revolutionary government.

[Begin Ubeda recording] The Armed Forces is a national and state institution and as such it serves the state.

I suppose that because of contradictions with UNO, some adjustments will have to be made, but the Interior Ministry and the Army have a role to play in this and in the next government. These are institutions that all states need. All states and all governments need a police force and an Army. [end recording]

Contras Ordered To Avoid Contact With Sandinists

PA2602194290 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1849 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Tegucigalpa, 26 Feb (DPA)—The Nicaraguan contras today ordered their troops inside Nicaragua to make an effort to avoid confrontations with Sandinist units as their contribution to the electoral process in which the opposition triumphed yesterday.

In addition, the Nicaraguan Resistance said that it will talk with Violeta de Chamorro, the winning candidate in yesterday's general elections, to establish the bases for the possible demobilization of its forces.

The contras' reaction was outlined in a communique signed by the General Staff and released this morning in Honduras, where their camps, General Staff, and support offices are located. A statement was also made by contra spokesman Alejandro Acevedo.

The communique states that the "new effort" by the contras will consist of maintaining the cease-fire and avoiding contact with Sandinist military units as a contribution toward the victory achieved yesterday by Violeta Barrios de Chamorro who, as candidate of the National Opposition Union, defeated President Daniel Ortega, candidate of the Sandinist National Liberation Front.

However, the contras reiterated today that they will not demobilize immediately and that they will remain alert to events over the next few months, in hopes that the opposition candidate will be able to assume the Nicaraguan Presidency on 25 April.

Acevedo said that demobilization will be contingent upon the dismantling of the Defense and Interior Ministries, which control the Sandinist People's Army and the Security Police, respectively.

Preliminary Final Report Ranks Political Parties

PA2702154190 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1234 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] The preliminary final report drafted by the Supreme Electoral Council [CSE], based on telex reports on the 25 February election results from vote-counting boards throughout the country, states the following:

Reports have been received from 3,975 vote-counting boards out of a total of 4,485 that functioned. This means that reports have been received from 82 percent of the functioning vote-counting boards. These reports account for 1,146,777 valid ballots. Of these, 633,357 votes were for the presidential candidates of the National Opposition Union [UNO]. This represents 55.2 percent of the presidential election votes. UNO's candidates to National Assembly seats obtained 54.8 percent of the votes.

The Sandinist National Liberation Front obtained 478,040 votes for its presidential candidate, Daniel Ortega, or 40.8 percent of the votes. The Sandinist deputy candidates secured 40.7 percent of the votes.

The other eight other parties and alliances that participated in the elections received the rest of the votes. The election record shows that the Movement of Revolutionary Unity emerged as the country's third political force, followed by the Revolutionary Workers Party, the Marxist-Leninist People's Action Movement, and the Social Christian alliance.

Surprisingly, the Social Conservative Party is the seventh force, followed by the Central American Unionist Party and the Democratic Conservative Party of Nicaragua .

The Independent Liberal Party for National Unity occupies last place.

As CSE President Mariano Fiallos has announced, as of today, vote counting will be based only on tally sheets duly signed by party poll representatives that are sent to the CSE.

Daniel Ortega To Lead Opposition in Assembly

PA2602193490 Paris AFP in Spanish 1845 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Managua, 26 Feb (AFP)—In accordance with the Nicaraguan Constitution, President Daniel Ortega,

leader of a revolution that was defeated yesterday at the polls, will head the new parliamentary opposition beginning on 25 April.

The Nicaraguan Constitution provides that the candidates for president and vice president of political parties defeated in elections automatically obtain a bench in the National Assembly.

Ortega lost yesterday's elections to Violeta Chamorro, a 61-year-old housewife who entered politics because she was the only one with a chance of uniting the until then scattered opposition.

Ironically, Ortega will obtain a seat based on a law drafted by his government six years ago to benefit parties that were very small at the time and are now part of UNO [National Opposition Union].

In addition, Sergio Ramirez will be entitled to become Ortega's alternate. Ortega will lead the Sandinist bloc along with Carlos Nunez, another member of the National Directorate [of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, FSLN]. According to the latest report on the vote count, UNO received 54.80 percent of the votes for deputies and the FSLN, 40.90 percent. The two parties will hold most of the 90 seats in the National Assembly.

UNO Political Council Meets; Godoy Comments

PA2702014190 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 0045 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Managua, 26 Feb (ACAN-EFE)—Vice President-elect Virgilio Godoy said today that the margin of victory obtained in yesterday's elections by the National Opposition Union (UNO) "was perhaps a little smaller than we expected."

Regarding the partial results obtained by UNO, a coalition made up of 14 parties, Godoy said: "We anticipated a more overwhelming victory."

Godoy met this afternoon with the UNO Political Council—the leading organization within UNO—which is composed of the main representatives of each of the 14 political parties in the coalition.

The PLI (Independent Liberal Party) president said: "We are holding this meeting to consider what our first steps will be, because we have a lot to discuss now."

"Actually, there were some tense moments when the Sandinists were not willing to admit they had failed. This is one of the reasons we are holding this meeting," Godoy said.

The Nicaraguan vice president-elect said: "These kind of meetings are not new. We have been holding meetings like this day after day, because the UNO policy is to discuss problems, all topics, among the 14 parties members of the coalition."

Asked what the first thing they propose to Violeta Chamorro will be, Godoy said: "There is nothing new to propose because, to begin with, throughout the campaign we said what we were planning to do."

"The first thing will be to abolish conscription, to grant a general amnesty, and to authorize all Nicaraguans to return to their fatherland."

Regarding possible problems that could arise within the coalition, Goody said "there will be no problems because we were alone on the political field and will remain alone and united in power."

FMLN Leaders' Stays Not To Be Allowed

PA2602201690 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1929 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Managua, 26 Feb (ACAN-EFE)—According to Alfredo Cesar, one of the leading advisers of virtual president-elect Violeta Chamorro, the Salvadoran guerrilla leaders who frequently travel to Nicaragua will not be able to stay in this country.

"Everything in violation of the Esquipulas agreement will be changed," Cesar said flatly in answer to a question about the presence of Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador leaders on certain occasions in Managua.

By this, Cesar referred to the agreements signed by the five Central American presidents, according to which irregular forces cannot use the territory of a country to prepare actions against another.

In recent months Daniel Ortega's government had distanced itself from the FMLN, whose latest offensive was criticized by Ortega during the Central American summit held in Costa Rica in December.

Chamorro's victory means that a conservative political force homologous to the Salvadoran Government will assume power in Nicaragua.

Chamorro's Foreign Policy Agenda Published

PA2602230890 Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 21 Feb 90 p 3A

["Document prepared under the responsibility of Dr. Emilio Alvarez Montalvan in coordination with the team of advisers of presidential candidate Violeta de Chamorro;" dated 15 February]

[Text] The most significant and influential event of this new decade is the noticeable detente among the two superpowers. Through expeditious negotiations that consolidate world peace, they are coming closer every day.

The first practical result has been the suspension of the arms race. They have agreed not only to reduce the arsenals of their strategic weapons, but also their conventional arsenals.

This atmosphere of peaceful coexistence has been reinforced by Gorbachev's policy in the USSR, which strives for democratization and reorganization of the institutions in his fatherland.

These changes in the USSR, promoted from the top, have stimulated the citizens from the East European countries to achieve their autonomy and independence, and dismantle the totalitarian regimes that were ineffective and abusive, and which they had been enduring along with an economic situation that was seriously maladjusted.

In addition, the nations of the Western Bloc have abstained from interfering in this delicate process of profound reforms, accepting them in a spirit of cooperation.

A second consequence is the rapprochement of the two Germanys, to the point that their unity is deemed inevitable. It is also true that the task is being handled cautiously by the respective leaders.

This atmosphere of peace and rearrangement of forces has opened up broad markets in East Europe and the USSR itself. This situation demands capital and technology and will reduce the offer of resources that traditionally came to the Third World countries from the West.

At the same time, the competition among the industrialized countries to satisfy that new demand will generate inevitable tensions.

When the large powers lost interest in provoking problems for their competitors in their areas of influence, the regional conflicts began to be solved through dialogue. Examples of this are Angola, Central America, Afghanistan, Cambodia, and most recently, South Africa, where Nelson Mandela's freedom indicates detente.

World and regional organizations that had remained inoperative throughout the cold war were used in resolving many of these cases, cases which had been held down by a dark mesh under which both sides suffered.

In this respect, the most outstanding case of regional reorganization is taking place in Central America through the ad hoc instrument of the periodic presidential meetings. The agreements achieved by them are contributing to laying the groundwork for a stabilization of the area through coordinated efforts based on the priniciples of peace and democracy.

This new world in which the East and West cooperate for the organization of a less conflictive and more cooperative society is unlocking great changes in the structures of power at all levels.

In addition, social situations that had remained unchanged and led to violence are also being stimulated. This includes ethnic confrontations, border claims, and the wishes for identity and reconstruction of the old fatherland.

Nothing escapes this powerful force of liberation, change, and reform. However, as opposed to similar revolutions in the history of mankind, this time the process moves—at least until now—within a new order, although with an accelerated and profound rate.

Within this broad context, there are the three great economic and political powers: the United States, greater (East and West) Europe, and Japan. It is undeniable that the vast majority of the men of our times prefer to live, organize, and develop within free institutions, democratically choosing their rulers and organizing their social system in an economic order that recognizes the value of individual initiative, although within a spirit of responsibility and social solidarity.

This new situation introduces for the nations south of the Rio Grande the need to adjust to the new conditions and to organize themselves better, based on consultation with the people, internal coexistence, and removal from international conflicts that could sweep them away.

Such efforts must necessarily be implemented through pragmatic and urgent renegotiations of the heavy foreign debt that burdens the Third World. The Brady plan, used successfully in the case of Mexico, is an encouraging example.

Also, the Third World countries should intensify their struggle to achieve fairer relations in terms of commercial exchanges with industrialized nations.

Within this new regional and continental geopolitical scenario, facing the grave situation of the crisis and deterioration of our country that has been inherited from the Sandinist government, and based on the idiosyncrasies, capacities, and resources of our people, the government installed with the electoral triumph of the National Opposition Union [UNO] will propose a dynamic and effective foreign policy that will correct the errors made in our country over the past decade. To this effect it will base itself on the following postulates and purposes:

I. The achievement of peace, democracy, and overall development of the nation. To this effect, the new government plans to establish and cultivate normal relations with all nations, regardless of ideological differences and within the framework of sovereignty, self-determination, and mutual respect. Regarding the priority area of Central America, where the Sandinist Government has played the role of a destabilizing agent and become a vector of radical slogans and protector of irregular forces, the new government will set out on the following short, medium, and long-term tasks:

1. To make a concerted effort with the Central American governments on common rules of international policy and joint diplomatic activities.

2. To support the election and operation of the Central American parliament.

3. To make a concerted effort to reach coordinated and joint strategies in international marketing.

4. To absorb and adapt applicable technologies, contracted multilaterally.

5. To establish free zones and places of border development and regional integration.

6. To recapitalize the Central American Bank.

In this context the project of the interoceanic canal through Nicaragua has a preferential place.

7. To include Nicaragua in the project of the Caribbean Basin together with the other countries of the isthmus.

8. To make concerted efforts to invigorate the social, political, and economic integration of the five countries, with broad travel and immigration facilities among them, exchanging manpower, unifying study plans, recognizing university titles and providing freedom for professional work.

9. To continue the periodic Central American presidential meetings to resolve common problems, maintain peace, and develop democracy in the region.

II. At the international level, it will seek technical and financial aid from all the countries interested in our development: the United States, the EEC, Japan, the Soviet Union, East Europe, and the Scandinavian countries, among others.

To attain these fundamental objectives, the new government plans to convene an International Conference for Aid to Nicaragua, in which specific development plans that require foreign aid will be explained.

In another area, the new government will seek international support for the repatriation of the Nicaraguan exiles and their social readaptation on the basis of professional training and job opportunities.

III. Regarding the American continent, the new government will strengthen the historic and cultural ties that link us with the other Hispanic American peoples, ties that are shown by the defense of common economic and political interests. The new government will maintain the commitments made by Nicaragua in the inter-American treaties, and will support the joint efforts to consolidate and strengthen the OAS on the basis of harmonious and equitable cooperation with the United States and all the OAS countries.

IV. A diplomatic service will be established and a school to train foreign service personnel will be opened. The new government will also implement a policy of scholarships for the study of professions and trades that are not available in the country.

V. It will especially promote and carry out concerted efforts in the fight against drug trafficking.

VI. On the basis of international American law, it will work for the strengthening of peace and the transition to democracy, supporting the following principles:

a) The self-determination of peoples and respect for the sovereignty and equality of states.

b) The nonintervention of a state in the domestic affairs of another state, without precluding the multilateral measures that international organizations must adopt to guarantee people's self-determination and respect for human rights.

c) The peaceful solution of conflicts among states.

d) The existence and respect for the human rights established in international documents signed by Nicaragua. The government will proceed to grant its recognition to the jurisdiction of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in the terms established by the American Convention or Pact of San Jose.

Managua, 15 February 1990

Sandinists Demonstrate in Managua, Interior

PA2702035090 Paris AFP in Spanish 0306 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Managua, 26 Feb—Sandinist demonstrators went out on the streets of Managua and several cities of Nicaragua tonight to express support for Daniel Ortega, who was unable to garner the necessary votes to be reelected president in yesterday's elections.

Groups of 19 July Sandinist Youths went through several neighborhoods of the capital city shouting slogans of support for the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN).

An incident that caused the police to step in occurred near the propaganda headquarters of the National Opposition Union (UNO) where 1,000 persons were celebrating the electoral victory of presidential candidate Violeta Chamorro. The police stepped in to avert a clash between Sandinist and UNO youths.

The police threw tear gas bombs to disperse the groups of demonstrators and regulated the traffic of vehicles.

In Esteli, Leon, Ocotal, Chinandega, and other cities of the interior, Sandinist demonstrations were also reported. "We have taken to the streets to defend the dignified vote," "Daniel has our support," they shouted.

Managua Radio Sandino, a station of the FSLN, aired special programming to express support for the Sandinist youths, while Radio Corporacion did likewise but for sectors of UNO.

Tear Gas Used To Disperse Chamorro Followers

PA2702030790 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 0225 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Managua, 26 Feb (ACAN-EFE)—Using tear gas, the riot police dispersed several hundred young followers

of virtual President-elect Violeta Chamorro this afternoon. The Chamorro followers were gathered near the opposition headquarters in Managua.

In downtown Managua, about 50 policemen hurled tear gas into the crowd shortly after the Chamorro followers were about to clash with a group of young Sandinists, whose party was defeated at the 25 February elections.

Some of the Chamorro followers tried to erect barricades with barrels and tires, but were prevented from doing so by the police. No one was injured.

[In a similar report, Paris AFP in Spanish at 0249 GMT on 27 February says that only "about 20 policemen" were at the scene of the incident, and adds that "a journalist was injured by a hurled stone."]

Contras Seek Dismantling of Defense Ministry

PA2702144190 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1228 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Tegucigalpa—The contra directorate announced yesterday in its Honduras sanctuary that it will immediately hold talks with its ally, Violeta Barrios, to set the basis for a contra demobilization process. This process was proposed by the Central American presidents and unaccepted by the contras until now.

The announcement is a result of a direct order issued yesterday by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

The contras, however, are demanding the dismantling of the Nicaraguan Defense and Interior Ministries so they can reactivate the defunct National Guard.

The contra chieftains have said that they will be militarily active until Mrs. Barrios is sworn in on 25 April to later discuss the resumption of military control by the National Guard in the country.

Galeano Critical of Former Contra Leaders

PA2602212990 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1945 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Yamales, Honduras, 26 Feb (ACAN-EFE)—The "contras" claimed a large part of Violeta Chamorro's victory in yesterday's elections in Nicaragua and denied that the success belongs to the former anti-Sandinist leaders, who they described as "militants with clean tennis shoes and dirty hands."

The allusion to the new commanders of the "contras" was directed at Adolfo Calero, Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, and Azucena Ferrey, among others, who, the contras said, "never wielded a rifle or knew the real pain of war."

Israel Galeano, known as Commander "Franklin," current chief of the General Staff of the Nicaraguan Resistance (RN), stated that the former "contra" leaders were always "desk militants with clean tennis shoes and dirty hands."

"They never used military boots like we did and they directed the RN because the United States imposed them on us without consulting us," Franklin added.

The military commander noted that in the past "Washington imposed Calero, Chamorro, and other leaders, but in the end recognized that many irregularities and much corruption had occurred and, therefore, removed them."

"Franklin" and Benito Bravo (Commander "Dimas"), chief of operations (G-3), also said that Enrique Bermudez, former military commander of the RN, "partly betrayed, through his irregular actions, the contra militants who are in Yamales," in eastern Honduras near the Nicaraguan border.

The new "contra" leadership maintains that there was "corruption" in the former RN Directorate and that the leaders "used many of the dollars provided by the United States to travel and to live in high style, forgetting that we had many necessities."

"In fact, Calero and Chamorro on one occasion spent three months in the air, flying from one place to another, while our militants were fighting inside Nicaragua," "Franklin" added.

Another commander, "Jimmy Leo" (Altamirano award [premio]), told ACAN-EFE that Chamorro "arrived the first time in Yamales as a journalist and the following month was our leader, without our having been consulted."

Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, son of the Nicaraguan president-elect, "never took up weapons. He was another of those desk militants who did nothing," "Jimmy" emphasized.

He added that other former leaders "sold themselves for a handful of dollars and betrayed the contras in moving to Nicaragua." Of the former members of the "contra" directorate, only Aristides Sanchez is linked with the new leadership made up of young militants, mostly ranging in age between 29 to 35 years.

Sanchez is part of the RN Political Commission "and continues to be an honest leader in our cause," Franklin remarked.

"In regard to Dimas," he said regarding the former veteran leader, "we know nothing. Now our leadership is headed by true militants who will seek a better destiny for us, whether or not we return to Nicaragua."

After the Chamorro victory in yesterday's elections in Nicaragua, the "contras" announced that they will wait until the transfer of power on 25 April before deciding what they will do.

The commanders believe that if there is democracy in Nicaragua, their armed presence has no reason to be, but noted that if necessary they will return with weapons to Nicaragua so there will be total liberty.

According to "Franklin," the contras do not trust the Sandinists, because "they are capable of surrendering power but not weapons. That is why we will remain alert," he stated.

Virgilio Godoy Interviewed Before Elections

PA2702001990 Managua LA CRONICA in Spanish 23-28 Feb 90 pp 8, 9, 18

[Interview with Virgilio Godoy, vice-presidential candidate of the National Opposition Union, UNO, by unidentified reporter; date and place not given—first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Virgilio Godoy Reyes is currently, perhaps, the Nicaraguan opposition's most controversial figure. He has had a lengthy career as a sociology professor. In 1979 he became the Sandinists' labor minister until 1984 when he resigned. His stubborn criticism of Sandinism has led him to belligerent positions within the opposition, and he is currently seeking the country's vice presidency representing UNO.

During this interview, Godoy broaches red-hot issues such as concerted political effort, national reconciliation, possible points of negotiation with the Sandinists, and the basic factors that have made UNO a possible winner on 25 February.

I will now leave our readers with the thoughts stated here, which are of great national interest.

[LA CRONICA] Dr. Godoy, what are the real implications of your call for the defense of the opposition's vote, which has been strongly atacked by the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] and some sectors of UNO? Will it affect the international observers' judgment?

[Godoy] I would say two things: First of all, I will not admit that within UNO there are sectors who refuse to defend the vote because that would be equal to admitting that there are sectors within UNO who would acknowledge a Sandinist fraud. It seems to me that this will not happen because I have tried to be very clear, and from the beginning I said that if there is honesty, at least on the final day of the process, 25 February, we will acknowledge the results of the elections, which means that we have confidence in what the international observers will say despite everything they know.

[LA CRONICA] Have you considered the role you will play as vice president of the Republic under the presidency of Dona Violeta Barrios de Chamorro? How do you plan to reconcile your position regarding the following three points of view: a) That of Dona Violeta and her advisers. b) That of UNO's Political Council. c) Your personal views on what the next Nicaraguan Government should be.

[Godoy] I have developed quite a bit of confidence in the growing cohesion within UNO, not only as an electoral apparatus, but also as a great tool of government. A government that lacks UNO's confidence or support will inevitably be a weak government; when I speak of UNO support, I mean the support of its 14 member organizations. Under conditions such as these, therefore, my role would be one of making contributions toward improving relations between UNO's power and political structures, so between the two, they can produce the desired outcome: The implementation of a program capable of reinstating the Nicaraguan people's confidence in their country and their future; a program that would definitively set in motion the great national reconciliation process, as well as the great process of national reconstruction.

[LA CRONICA] It is no secret to anyone that Dona Violeta is seriously ill. If she were forced to leave her post, would you make fundamental changes in her style of government? Do you believe that the story of Tancredo Neves and Jose Sarney can repeat itself in Nicaragua?

[Godoy] First of all, I am afraid that reports to the effect that Dona Violeta is seriously ill are exaggerated. To the best of my knowledge, she has suffered from her current illness for a long time and will continue to do so for some time to come. The key issue is to see how the Nicaraguan people's call for freedom, which Violeta symbolically represents, can take shape. It is impressive to see how this woman has managed to overcome personal adversity and tell the Nicaraguan people that regardless of her difficulties, she is trying to lend a hand and help.

Of course, anything can happen, but for the time being there is no thought of a sudden transition like the one in Brazil with the unexpected death of Tancredo Neves and the equally unexpected rise of Jose Sarney. Nevertheless, I feel that in the future Nicaragua will no longer be a country of only people but one where the government will be, perhaps for the first time in Nicaraguan history, the true instrument of the Nicaraguan people's will. Perhaps that is why it is not that important to think in terms of people.

I have said on various occasions, at many public events, particularly in the areas that I care about most—small and medium-sized towns—that I hope that the Nicaraguan people will become involved in directing their own future and will forget about terms such as the "national directorate order" so in the end the people will impart instructions to the public servants they elect, and we can be simply that: public servants and not the bosses of the people who elected us.

[LA CRONICA] In clear and specific terms, as vice president of the Republic, what treatment would you advise for Interior and Defense Ministers Borge and Ortega? Would they temporarily maintain their positions? Who are you thinking of for those positions?

[Godoy] I believe the answer to that question is obvious if we listen to the verbal and written statements of each of the two figures you mentioned. Borge called today for a rebellion. He should not only be dismissed and demoted, but he should be tried on charges of supreme

irresponsibility. In Ortega's case the situation is no better. The publication of that infamous document on 27 December, in which Ortega was capable of threatening the Nicaraguan people with a mass execution, totally precludes his staying in his current position for a single day more, under any circumstances.

[LA CRONICA] What things would you negotiate with the Sandinists if you lose the elections?

[Godoy] If the Sandinists lose?

[LA CRONICA] If UNO loses the elections, what things would you negotiate with the Sandinists, and if the contrary should occur, if the Sandinists lose, what things would you negotiate with them?

[Godoy] The answer to that question is complicated. In the first place, a loss by how large a margin? To lose by a nine-to-one margin is quite different from losing 51 to 49. I believe that if UNO loses by two points, for example,—and I view this as somewhat feasible—UNO would become a powerful opposition. A government that wins by a difference of only two percentage points will be a weak government. Under such conditions, negotiation plans may be different, because if someone wins by a large margin he is in a position to impose his terms, but if he wins by a small margin he is obliged to listen to his counterpart.

I think talks are inevitable, regardless of who wins, even by a small margin. However, if the victory is by a wide margin, the talks could be secondary. This would be the case in a normal country, but in Nicaragua, where the party in power and the Armed Forces go hand in hand, this particular distortion must be kept in mind. If the victory is by a wide margin, it means that the party would not be teetering on the razor's edge during its administration. It would depend also on foreign and not only on domestic factors.

Things will not be easy if the Sandinists' political will is to sow chaos, as Minister Borge has said twice. However, it is clear that international sanctions will be hovering overhead like the sword of Damocles, saying: "Take it easy. Things are not that simple."

Besides, what would be the result of overthrowing a government? The simple recognition of the usurping government? I do not think so. I believe that the recent elections in Panama are still fresh in our minds. I believe that the OAS, which was deeply involved in those elections, will be moved not to repeat the mistakes it made and the weaknesses it exhibited in Panama. The presidents of South American nations who were also involved will not allow a repetition of the mistake they made in Panama.

I believe that Nicaragua presents, as the experts say, its own circumstances that place conditions on the government's stability and future. The FSLN believes the people are on its side, but, as a conservative politician said, it is going to be left like a scorpion without its stinger.

[LA CRONICA] After 25 February, there are two possibilities for Virgilio Godoy. 1) He loses the elections for vice president of the Republic. 2) Virgilio Godoy wins the election for vice president of the Republic. What will your role be in either case?

[Godoy] In the first case, I would return to occupy my seat in the National Assembly, of course under completely different circumstances than those existing today. It would be a more varied Assembly. It would be richer and more democratic. It would have fresh strength coming from both sides. In the second case, I would be there ready to cooperate toward the government's success.

[LA CRONICA] You seem to indicate that there is a possibility of reaching an agreement with the Sandinists. What would you include in such an agreement?

[Godoy] I meant reconciliation rather than agreement. For the Sandinists, striking an agreement means giving out material benefits in return for political support. We understand agreement to be something different. This is why we have been unable to agree. We understand agreement to mean the possibility of jointly determining the country's future within the framework of the events in the country and not merely endorsing a government policy in return for some material benefits, which were personal most of the time. I think reconciliation is a very broad process, which means not only what the people commonly understand it to mean—even we have sometimes understood it and simplified it to mean granting pardons, permitting those in exile to return, releasing every political prisoner, etc.—but also eliminating all of the factors that have been a cause of quarrels, disputes, and general friction among Nicaraguans so everyone can feel free to live in Nicaragua and so the country has a promising future.

[LA CRONICA] I understand that reconciliation does not imply agreement. The quarrels that brought about disagreement in the Nicaraguan family can be ended, but this does not necessarily involve agreement. Yet it seems that without such an agreement this country will go nowhere.

[Godoy] To me, reconciliation does imply agreement to a certain extent. At least reconciliation eliminates the obstacles that preclude understanding between Nicaraguans. In reconciliation the state is not regarded as the central factor, but the civilian society is reassessed. The interaction among Nicaraguans will enable them to return to the path of freedom and progress.

[LA CRONICA] You seem to believe that UNO will win the 25 February elections. What makes you think UNO will win?

[Godoy] I do not believe that, unfortunately, the FSLN has anything to offer Nicaragua. The latest campaign slogan—"They had 10 years and were unable to do it"—is strictly historical. There is nothing economic, political, or social that can contradict this. Maybe there is a little something on the cultural side. The Sandinists have nothing to show for their 10 years of government. Whoever is aware of this knows that the Sandinists can achieve victory only if the people become masochistic or the Sandinists' ability to persuade the people becomes truly magic. I do not believe, however, that magic works in elections. It is even less likely for the people to become masochistic. For lack of time or other reasons, UNO did not succeed in exploiting even five percent of the Sandinists' economic deficiencies. UNO concentrated virtually all its efforts on politics. The Sandinists neither cared to highlight what little they did, mostly in the cultural field, nor took it in due consideration. What they did was very little indeed. Most of it was propaganda. Throughout Nicaragua, there is a profound weariness with war, poverty, and insecurity. At the same time, the face of the common Nicaraguan shows a great desire to achieve a peace and harmony in which he can again live, smile, and even cry, not because of suffering but out of happiness over the triumph of worthwhile goals.

I have stressed that there is a great difference between the aggressive Sandinist campaign and UNO's campaign—where you see shining eyes, broad smiles, great optimism, and faith in the future. In other words, you see people who are being internally revitalized, who realize the value of their future, and who state that the past must be buried without vengeance to allow the possibility of healing old wounds and working together to attain the goals we all want.

[LA CRONICA] Observers of our national politics have stated that, within the harmony that characterizes the Chamorro - Godoy ticket, some names are being considered as possible members of the next cabinet, adding that it is taken for granted that Engineer Antonio Lacayo will be appointed commerce and industry minister. What do you think of this?

[Godoy] I believe there is a lot of speculation about this. In fact, some lists have been published in the progovernment media. I believe it is premature to talk about this because, as it turns out, UNO has a gold mine in its hands from which to choose the names of those who will make up the next cabinet. I can predict, or venture a guess, that there are some candidates within the National Political Council and among Mrs. Violeta's advisers. However, some candidates have been proposed who are not advisers or who are not on the National Political Council, and they are being looked on favorably.

Consequently, we still do not know how the next government will be organized. We will have a debate on this before 25 February to determine what ministries will be confirmed, what others will disapnear, which autonomous organizations will be kept and which will disappear. So, it is not advisable to mention the names of people within the framework of a plan that may not survive. Nevertheless, some names are being mentioned and some of them are almost a certainty. I believe that, for example, there are some definite candidates for the Central Bank.

Several possibilities are being considered. There is also talk about who will be president of congress. Some candidates have jumped using their own parachutes. I do not know if their parachutes will open, but they are trying. It is important to mention this because only a country interested in overcoming its crisis could have so many candidates. In other countries, you would probably have to recruit the candidates instead of having them volunteer.

Panama

Endara Hails Chamorro's Victory in Nicaragua

PA2602190490 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 1700 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] President Guillermo Endara has sent a letter of congratulations to Nicaragua. It reads as follows:

The Panamanian Government expresses its satisfaction over the process and results of the elections held in Nicaragua. The victory of the National Opposition Union led by Mrs. Violeta Chamorro and its recognition by the closest candidate and incumbent, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega Saavedra, demonstrate that democracy is making progress in the Central American area and the world.

Viewing the results of the elections in Nicaragua, one realizes that problems in the area must be solved in a global manner to achieve peace and prosperity. The international community will have to allocate resources to decidedly assist all countries in the area and thus help achieve reconstruction and reconciliation among Central Americans.

The voting in Nicaragua is the best tribute that could have been rendered to a defender of justice, freedom, and democracy like Mrs. Violeta Chamorro. Had those who held power in Panama admitted their defeat as has been done in Nicaragua, Panamanians would have been spared many sad and discouraging developments.

As president of the Republic, I extend an embrace as a friend and brother to all Nicaraguans over the victory of democracy.

Very truly yours,
[Signed]Guillermo Endara Galimany, president of the Republic of Panama.

Minister Praises Ortega's, Sandinists' Attitude

PA2702005990 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 0005 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Panama City, 26 Feb (DPA)—Foreign Minister Julio Linares today said that by accepting the opposition victory in the Nicaraguan presidential elections, the Sandinists proved to be "more upright and honest" than ousted General Manuel Antonio Noriega.

"I am very pleased with National Opposition Union (UNO) candidate Violeta de Chamorro's victory," Linares said. He added that it is a "duty" for all Panamanians and Latin Americans to recognize Daniel Ortega and his government team for the "honest" way in which they accepted defeat.

For the Panamanian foreign minister, the Sandinists' attitude is in sharp contrast to the position adopted by Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega, who invalidated the 7 May 1989 national elections after learning of the victory of opposition presidential candidate Guillermo Endara.

I am pleased with the development of elections in Nicaragua because the people's will was respected and because this helps consolidate democracy, especially if one takes into account that the current Nicaraguan Government is admitting the victory of a political sector of a different ideology, which the UNO members have.

Arias Calderon To Leave 26 Feb for Peru

PA2602083290 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2045 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Panama City, 25 Feb (ACAN-EFE)—Vice President Ricardo Arias Calderon will travel to Peru on 26 February to seek normalization of diplomatic relations between Panama and Peru. Relations between these two countries deteriorated following the U.S. military invasion on 20 December.

Arias Calderon, who is also government and justice minister of Panama, said that he is visiting Peru at the request of Peruvian President Alan Garcia to his counterpart, Guillermo Endara, during a recent telephone conversation.

"President Garcia was kind enough to suggest a visit by a representative of the Endara government," Arias Calderon told the press today.

This visit "is part of the efforts made by both countries to normalize our diplomatic relations as soon as possible," the vice president and minister of government and justice added.

The Peruvian Government was the Latin American government that most harshly criticized the U.S. invasion that put an end to 21 years of military regime and led to the capture of Panama's strongman of the last six years, Manuel Antonio Noriega.

President Garcia went as far as conditioning the normalization of relations with Panama to the holding of "a consultation with the people" in Panama to "legitimize" the Endara government. Until two weeks ago, he kept a Panamanian flag in his office to protest the U.S. invasion.

Likewise, Peruvian Foreign Minister Guillermo Larco Cox called Endara "the Judas of the Americas."

Relations between these two countries reached the most critical point in mid-January when Endara expelled the Peruvian charge d'affaires from Panama, Luis Sandiga. At the time, the Peruvian diplomat was told this was done as a result of some "statements made by the Peruvian authorities on Panama."

In the Peruvian Embassy in Panama there are still some former collaborators of Noriega on asylum, including Major Gonzalo Gonzalez; Captain Marcela Tason de Rodriguez, Noriega's secretary; Major Edgardo Lopez, spokesman of the former Panama Defense Forces; and several of his relatives.

The Panamanian foreign minister advised one month ago that in view of the attitude adopted by Peru, President Garcia had two alternatives: "Either it normalizes its relations with Panama, or it will have to withdraw its diplomatic mission accredited" in Panama City.

Arias Notes 'Marked Change' in Police Attitudes

PA2602182290 Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish 26 Feb 90 p 1A

[Report by Vilma Figueroa B.]

[Text] Ricardo Arias Calderon, Minister of Government and Justice, yesterday said that a marked change is gradually taking place in the attitudes of the National Police members, who are taking up their new role.

Arias Calderon referred to various opinions concerning the Public Force members. "Associations, corporations, and organizations are constantly requesting the presence of Police Force members for their protection. These requests would not have been made if the people mistrusted the organization."

Accosted by the reporters after attending Sunday mass at the Cristo Rey church, the minister said the Public Force has received vehicles and 500 portable radios and will be issued new uniforms next week. This way, the Public Force members will be able to do their duties better and the public will trust them more. The change of attitude on both sides is important.

Concerning rumors of the removal of Public Force captains and members, Arias Calderon said that no decision to discharge or declare officers retired has been made in the past 24 or 48 hours.

According to the minister, the Public Force is doing its work amid better conditions. The evidence speaks for

itself. The country is gradually returning to constitutional and democratic normalcy. The population is in the process of overcoming the trauma suffered. The nation is gradually accustoming itself to thinking about the need for reconstruction and concern for the future.

Concerning the use of the money that the Defense Forces collected from the people as fines, Arias Calderon said: "This is a matter for an audit that the Comptroller General should discuss. I can say, however, that Noriega directly or indirectly controlled the payroll of 16,000 Defense Forces members. The entire Public Force is comprised of 13,500 members at present."

Finally, Arias Calderon said that Colonel Eduardo Herrera, currently the Public Force Chief, has suggested changing the title of National Police Chief to that of General Police Director. This means that the spirit of demilitarization is being made evident in the language, uniforms, and functions of the Public Force. This is becoming a daily reality and is positive.

Banking Leader on Prevention of Money Laundering

PA2602125190 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 25 Feb 90 pp 1, A2

[Text] Banks operating in the Republic of Panama, which are members of the Banking Association of Panama [ABP], will cooperate with the national government to prevent the laundering of drug-trafficking money through the Panamanian banking center, ABP President Edgardo Lasso Valdes has said.

Lasso pointed out that this means that Panama's banking center will efficiently contribute toward the general antidrug struggle being waged by the U.S. Government and Congress.

The ABP is comprised of about 100 banking institutions.

According to Lasso, Panamanian legislation offers no protection to customers implicated in crimes "and their accounts are subject to investigation by the appropriate judicial organizations, which must keep the case secret should the investigation show that no crime was committed."

The ABP president said that the ABP would have proposed specific amendments to the law to help combat money laundering if it deems that such changes are warranted.

As for the bank accounts, Lasso said that the most secret account within the Panamanian banking system is the "coded account," which is regulated by Law 18 of 28 January 1959. He noted that these accounts are subject to investigation by virtue of Article Five of the law that specifies that information about coded bank accounts may only be revealed by managers and other bank officials to examining officials, judges, and magistrates in charge of criminal proceedings "who will maintain this information in strict secrecy should the investigation not confirm the suspected crime."

Lasso added that "it is evident that if there are indications that a specific bank account, coded or not, might be linked to illegal activities, Panama's Public Prosecutor's Office would assess the merits of the charges filed and decide whether to order the appropriate investigation, as was done with 200 coded accounts and 50 accounts of other kinds."

He pointed out that the banks comply with these requirements, because they are compelled to do so by the law and because they maintain a positive attitude toward eradicating the criminals' use of their institutions.

The ABP president said that honest money has enjoyed the greatest reserve and confidentiality in Panama and such money is welcomed by the banks and presumably also by the national authorities, because their inflow will accelerate the reconstruction process and revive the country's economy.

Lasso objected to what he called "insistent disqualification" of people in Panama for the sole reason of being associated with banks in the capacity of dignitaries, directors, or stockholders. He censured persistent efforts to discredit the Panamanian banking center and its institutions on charges of complicity with money laundering.

"Both attitudes are irresponsible, because they are unfounded and would not withstand the slightest scrutiny," the ABN president said.

Lasso added that it is ironic to believe that a center such as Panama's, the assets of which have ranged from a top figure of $40 billion down to its current figure of and 15 billion, could play a significant role in "cleaning up" the $300 billion, which according a recent statement by Senator Kerry, is made annually in the drug business in the United States. Out of that amount, according to U.S. authorities a few days ago on occasion of the "Cartagena summit," $200 billion is "laundered" in the United States proper.

Lasso pointed out the importance of the absolute and unreserved cooperation offered by ABP banks to the national government. He added that Panama will do all it can to cooperate to fulfill its commitments to international antidrug organizations while safeguarding the interests of our honest depositors, because this is essential to the survival of the banking center and Panama's development.

The ranking banking official said that a good example of cooperation with the authorities is the ABP's support for Decree 41, which establishes controls on cash transactions over $10,000.

Bank Accounts Linked to Medellin Cartel Frozen

PA2402043390 Panama City Telemetro Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Very large bank accounts linked to the Medellin Cartel were frozen recently. The accounts include that of

Gonzalo Rodriguez Gacha, one of Colombia's largest drug traffickers, who was shot to death by the Colombian police.

Victor Aldana Aparicio, secretary general of the drugs division of the Attorney General's Office, said that his office has frozen 200 bank accounts, most of them linked to the Colombian drug cartel. The government also froze a large account belonging to Eduardo Martinez, who fled the country and was later captured by the Colombian army. Eduardo Martinez was the Medellin Cartel's treasurer.

Aldana said that his office had previously worked in a hidden and almost clandestine manner, but now it has a different image. As for the Pisces operation carried out a few years ago, it was learned that Miami is where most of the money laundering takes place. However, $14 billion were frozen in Panama in the course of that operation. The files on Pisces have been misplaced at the Attorney General's Office, so authorities are trying to find the information with details of that operation.

[Begin recording] [Aldana] We froze or seized a little over 200 accounts that presumably may be linked to money laundering, as this money came from drug trafficking.

[Reporter] How much do these frozen accounts total?

[Aldana] The amount cannot be totalled based on the number of accounts. I can tell you that we froze over $9 million. More than freezing or seizing the money, the important thing is the information we obtain, as it allows us to follow the trail of money from drug trafficking. This week we have been asking banks for data on accounts that we feel may have been used for this sort of crime. As I said, the data will permit us to follow the trail that may lead us to different centers, corporations, and individuals that laundered money or were used to launder money without their knowledge.

[Reporter] Are these accounts linked to the Medellin Cartel?

[Aldana] I could say yes, because the information we have collected in the files mention the Medellin Cartel. In this respect, the only thing we can say with certainty is that persons from Medellin had interests in these accounts. We have learned that from the information we gathered in the different files. [end recording]

GNP Decreases for Second Consecutive Year

PA2602012390 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 2236 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Panama City, 22 Feb (DPA)—A report from the Comptrollership General of the Republic reveals that Panama's GNP for 1989—a minus 1.2 percent—has left a negative balance for the country's economy for the second year in a row, mainly because of the deterioration in service-related activities.

The report points out that the Panama Canal, the interoceanic oil pipeline, and the Colon Free Zone activities jointly reflect a 10.7 percent decrease.

The same report states that the decrease in consumer purchasing power, the low investments in the private as well as the public sector, the banking restrictions, the political uncertainty, and, above all, the U.S. intervention in Panama at the end of 1989 also worsened the deteriorated situation.

Nevertheless, some sectors, such as agriculture, livestock, fishing, forestry, and game, had an overall growth of 2.4 percent compared with 1988.

On the other hand, Panama's manufacturing industry presents a 5.3 percent recovery in 1989 compared with the prior year, a recovery similar to the wholesale and retail trade, which had growth of 5.2 percent.

The restaurant and hotel sector generated growth of 3.6 percent for 1989 as the result of an increase in restaurant activities due to greater consumption in fast-food restaurants.

Activities of the financial companies, insurance companies, real estate agencies, and services provided to companies in general deceased by 2.2 percent for 1989, less of a decrease than in 1988.

The construction industry continued to decrease in 1989 as a result of the paralysis of investments in this sector.

The report states that when the transportation, storage, and communications activities (which are carried out by the Panama Canal, the oil pipeline, and the Colon Free Zone) are excluded, the GNP's overall negative tendency is inverted, changing from minus 1.2 percent to 1.5 percent. These activities comprise 19.8 percent of the GNP for 1989.

Cabinet Approves Issue of $50 Million in Bonds

PA2402201690 Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish 23 Feb 90 p 1

[Report by Zoila Rodriguez Jovane]

[Text] After an almost an 11-hour meeting, the cabinet has approved the issuance of $50 million worth of bonds to make bank loans available to the businesses that were looted after 20 December. It also approved a $10 million loan from the International Commercial Bank of China to build housing.

A regulation was approved whereby the executive branch is authorized "to issue a series of government bonds and securities and to adopt other measures," worth 50 million balboas or its equivalent in U.S. dollars to be used as an incentive for the devastated businesses.

Decree 49 states that the interest rate will be no higher than nine percent annually, redeemable within four years. The bonds will be handled through a trust fund,

which will provide credits to finance businesses that suffered economic losses during the looting that took place after 20 December.

The resolution approved by the cabinet will make credit available to banks with general licenses, which have exclusive or majority Panamanian capital and which are authorized to operate in the Republic of Panama and have their main offices in this capital.

Legislators, Alternates Receive Credentials 23 Feb

PA2402025990 Panama City Telemetro Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] The Panamanian Electoral Tribunal this afternoon delivered credentials to 57 legislators and their respective alternates. The Electoral Tribunal magistrates, legislators, alternates, and friends attended the ceremony. The presentation of credentials was carried out in stages. The first to receive their credentials were legislators for the Christian Democratic Party, Molirena [Nationalist Liberal Republican Movement], and the Authentic Liberal Party. Afterwards, their alternates received their credentials. Next, PRD [Democratic Revolutionary Party] lawmakers were given their credentials. Electoral Tribunal President Yolanda de Rodriguez said all appeals had been ruled on. The next steps are the proclamation of corregimiento representatives and determining where new elections must be held.

Manfredo Comments on Need To Widen Canal

PA2402020090 Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish 23 Feb 90 p 1

[Report by Zoila Rodriguez Jovane]

[Text] Panama Canal Deputy Administrator Fernando Manfredo has said that the efficient service and future operation of the waterway will basically depend on the decision to expand the Gaillard cut and carry the project through over the next 10 years. In a speech to Panama's Rotary Club, Manfredo warned that the problem of rendering service to a growing number of wider ships "is turning really critical," since these ships have to cross the waterway one by one for the security of each vessel, especially when its cargo is dangerous.

The Gaillard Cut, named after the engineer who directed the project, constituted one of the most difficult phases of the construction of the canal, measuring approximately eight miles long from north of the Pedro Miguel Locks to south of Gamboa. It is still one of the most difficult areas. Studies conducted by pilot programs from Swedish and U.S. proponents have estimated that the cost of expanding the Gaillard Cut could total $300 million, depending on the stability of the U.S. currency.

The deputy administrator felt that the Panamanian and U.S. Governments must hold talks to discuss from where the funds to finance this projects will come, considering alternatives "that do not punish the users" with a toll increase or a surcharge on transit tariffs. On this matter, Manfredo added that the democratic nature of the new Panamanian Government will facilitate the negotiations that could be held on the situation. However, he explained that it will be up to the Panama Canal Commission [PCC] Board of Directors to make the final decision. The PCC estimated that it takes a vessel 24 hours to cross the canal, and unless transit time is kept within those limits, the canal's competitiveness will force ships that usually pass this waterway to seek other alternatives.

Talking about the approaching time when the Panamanian Government will assume responsibility for one of the wonders of modern engineering, Manfredo warned that "the greatest threat looming over the canal is bad administration." On this matter, he said that the percentage of ships with a breadth of over 100 feet has grown from less than one percent in 1965 to over 20 percent in 1989," and this trend is expected to continue, although 96 percent of ships currently in operation can go through the canal locks, which is why the start of the cut's expansion cannot be delayed beyond 2005.

Endara Facing 'U.S. Pressures' on Banking System

PA2602020590 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 23 Feb 90 p A4

[Article by Jerry Wilson: "Pressures on Endara"]

[Text] President Guillermo Endara Galimany has described as "highly unfair" the charges made by the THE NEW YORK TIMES accusing him of directing a bank that used to "launder" money. This is just one of the U.S. pressures to bend the will of the new Panamanian president. The president was imposed by the U.S. Government following the invasion of Panama, but he appears to have rebelled against a series of demands that run counter to the national interests of the isthmian republic and the private interests of some internal allies of the president.

Endara is now facing a serious dilemma. On the one hand he has to be thankful to the United States for overthrowing the former regime, thus permitting him to reach power. On the other hand he is obliged not to yield to the nationalist postulates of the Panamenists, who are inspired by the ideas of their great leader Arnulfo Arias Madrid. We must consider all of this without forgetting that President Endara belongs to a professional economic class that sees its economic interests at risk because of some of the measures that the U.S. Government seeks to implement.

This is why President Endara has stated emphatically since the begnning of his term that his government "will not negotiate the Torrijos-Carter treaties or the presence of the military bases after the year 2000." Undoubtedly, that is not to the liking of the U.S. Government, which is beginning to be disillusioned with the new president.

Also, the U.S. demand that Panamanian banking laws be modified, with the apparent purpose of avoiding money

laundering (when what it seeks, among other things, is to control the tax evasion of firms and U.S. citizens through the Panamanian banking system), would result in a weakening of the banking system, which is the source of significant revenues of large law firms, one of which is President Endara's, and of other collaborators of his in the new government.

This is why the THE NEW YORK TIMES resorts to political blackmail against Endara when it highlights his position in the Interoceanic Bank of Panama, a bank used to launder money, according to the U.S. Government.

Despite all the appreciation Endara has for the United States, he finds it difficult to agree to the demands of his mentors. This is probably what Endara told Vice President Quayle, who returned dissatisfied from his visit to Panama. At some point, pressure began to be exerted on the new Panamanian president. It was Quayle himself who began the attack by suggesting new elections, or at least a plebiscite. The message was quite clear: "Just as we got you into power, we can also choose not to recognize you." The same occurred with the promised U.S. aid, which was conditioned from that moment on the fulfillment of the demands of the U.S. Congress. Endara for his part complains bitterly and desperately that the promised and much-touted aid has not arrived.

The truth is that the aid will not arrive and the attacks against Endara will not let up until he meets the demands of his northern mentors or they decide to overthrow him. The ploy has begun. Let us wait for the outcome.

Editorial Reproaches Criticism of Public Force

PA2602092890 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 24 Feb 90 p A4

[Editorial: "An Unjust and Dangerous Criticism"]

[Text] Immediately after the 20 December U.S. invasion, which among other things eliminated the former Defense Forces, various groups have unleashed attacks against the newly created Public Force. We believe that those attacks are not only unjust, but dangerous. In a previous editorial we noted that although it is true that it is not convenient for our country to have an army because of the political and economic effects, it is also true that public order in a country like ours cannot be maintained only by a small and practically disarmed police force.

Even though some people think that it would be ideal for U.S. military police to stay in Panama indefinitely, the time will come when they will have to withdraw and leave the members of the new Public Force in charge of protecting the lives and properties of all citizens, as in all free, sovereign, and independent countries.

The government is cognizant of that situation. On several occasions, Ricardo Arias Calderon, second vice president and government and justice minister, has tried to explain to the public that the new force is not a carbon copy of the former Defense Forces and that it's members are under civilian power and will respect the Constitution and laws of the Republic.

We do not doubt that some members of the Public Force should be subjected to an in-depth investigation; however, we are sure that they are a minority. In this case, as in any other, generalizing is not just. We said that it is also dangerous because those criticisms could encourage a feeling among its members that could have a negative effect in the future on their ability to fully carry out the serious responsibility they have of guaranteeing peace for all citizens.

The decision of not having an army should not lead us to absurd extremes, because in the long run the new Public Force will have to have specialized units for various functions. For example, it must have an antiriot unit, because as Colonel Eduardo Herrera recently admitted with all sincerity, his subordinates were not yet prepared to control street riots that student groups could provoke when classes are resumed. It would be very regrettable if in the event of a situation like that Panamanian citizens clash with members of the U.S. Army or Military Police. The consequences would be extremely grave for all, particularly for the current government.

Article Warns of Herrera: 'Beware the Dauphin'

PA2702033990 Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish 26 Feb 90 p 16A

[Article by Jorge Gamboa Arosemena: "Eduardo Herrera, the Dauphin"]

[Text] Life, like the world, goes round and round. In the French monarchy, the dauphin inherited the throne.

Who would say that such an event would take place 15 years after Herrera was designated Omar Torrijos' successor?

And yet this is true, no more, no less. The people must keep bearing up with the decisions of the military, which was then represented by the tyrant Torrijos.

In the first graduation ceremony at the Tomas Herrera Institute in the middle 1970's, the general at the time pointed his finger at Officer Eduardo Herrera Hassan, his escort, and publicly anointed him to succeed him at the time of his retirement. But Torrijos had not taken into account that the "Flying Falcon" operation, plotted by the CIA and later reported by his brother, would do away with Torrijos in 1981.

It is worthwhile saying at this time that the G-2 head was on the CIA's payroll, as former Ambassador Jordan has testified.

Torrijos' brother must have made a general accusation. Had his accusation been specific, the family members would not have been able to keep enjoying the properties that the October process had given them. What morals!

Back to our subject. Torrijos picked Herrera as his successor, but Herrera had also been chosen by Torrijos' superiors. This selection is inferred from the fact that the School of the Americas admitted Herrera as a student in a staff officer course to which only those with the rank of major and above were admitted. I do not think this was a gratuitous admittance. The U.S. intelligence services had already realized that he would be their best man once Torrijos had disappeared.

Herrera later spent several years in Washington polishing his skills at the Inter-American Defense Academy.

After the line of succession was interrupted because of the timely, or untimely, death of the dictator, Herrera was appointed ambassador to Israel. I would not be surprised if he also attended intensive courses there to prepare him to assume command. It is appropriate to say at this point that an Israeli Hercules plane took off from the Tocumen airport hours before the invasion of Panama. International cable dispatches reported that Mossad people were picking up their things at the advice of Uncle Sam.

The United States, Israel, and the Panamanian military men seem to share common interests.

Coming back to the present, Herrera is the commander of the Panamanian Public Force, for which he was appointed 15 years ago. Keep in mind who brought him the first day.

Some of my fellow Panamanians do not believe in the possibility of a preparation so far in advance because the complexity of the U.S. establishment precludes such a long-term project.

Let us remember (this is a good word) that Noriega was recruited while still in secondary school. In addition, Herrera would not be the only Yankee card. They always have several, some of whom must be lying around concealed somewhere.

In conclusion, do you think a man trained to succeed a dictator has evolved toward civil-mindedness?

Herrera was in command of the repression in one particular area on that Black Friday. A good sign that he had evolved toward civic-mindedness would have been his reaction when he realized he had been deceived by Noriega. If, when he realized the importance of that fateful day, he had resigned and reported Noriega's manipulation, this would have been a good sign of a change. But this was not so. And we cannot give him the benefit of the doubt, because, just like all of the other military men, he continued to wait for an opportunity to take power by storm. He reported Noriega only when, just like everyone else (Diaz Herrera, Paredes, Villalaz, Adames, etc.), he was discharged.

Beware the dauphin! Down with militarism!

Taiwan Donates Agricultural Equipment

PA2402003490 Panama City CRITICA LIBRE in Spanish 20 Feb 90 p 14

[All Taiwanese names as published]

[Text] His Excellency Soong Chang-Chih, ambassador of Taiwan, has presented agricultural equipment valued at approximately 330,000 balboas to Ezequiel Rodriguez, Panamanian minister of agricultural development.

The donation ceremony took place recently at the Taiwanese Agricultural Mission in Montijo District, Veraguas Province. In addition to the two officials, others in attendance were Din Ta-San, special assistant to the Taiwanese ambassador; Su Tsau Hong, chief of the Taiwanese Agricultural Mission in Panama; Pablo Quintero, deputy minister of agricultural development; and Javier Arosemena, general director of the Agriculture and Livestock Research Institute of Panama, as well as high-level officials of the Agricultural Development Ministry for the central regions and provincial and local authorities.

During the ceremony, Ambassador Soong expressed his satisfaction because his country has had the opportunity to participate, through the Taiwanese Agricultural Mission, in Panama's agricultural development over the past 20 years. He said that he was honored to present this equipment, which, though humble, symbolizes the Taiwanese Government's firm support for the government of the Republic of Panama in this important sector, namely food production.

Minister Rodriguez thanked the Taiwanese Government for this timely and generous donation, while receiving it in the name of the government of reconstruction and reconciliation led by His Excellency Guillermo Endara Galimany, president of the Republic.

Argentina

Notes Exchanged With UK, Embassies Reopen

PY2702115690 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 2125 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Buenos Aires, 26 Feb (NA)—The Argentine and British Embassies reopened today in London and Buenos Aires as part of the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, as agreed upon in the 15 February joint declaration in Madrid.

As a preliminary step to the accredidation of ambassadors, each country appointed a charge d'affaires: Santos Goni Marenco of Argentina and Alan Hunt of the United Kingdom.

This decision was confirmed today by an exchange of letters between Argentine Foreign Minsiter Domingo Cavallo and British Foreign Affairs Secretary Douglas Hurd.

The Argentine diplomat stated that the "issuance of the joint declaration is a source of deep satisfaction for the Argentine Government" and adds "that the agreements constitute the basis for the beginning of a new phase."

Cavallo added that "the reestablishment of diplomatic relations will contribute to the appropriate conditions allowing us to solve all the remaining problems between our two countries."

After expressing the satisfaction with which his government received the agreement obtained in Madrid, British Foreign Affairs Secretary Douglas Hurd added: "I hope to work with you in the future to restore the warm and friendly relations which our countries traditionally maintained."

Menem Congratulates Nicaragua's Chamorro

PY2602174690 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1637 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Buenos Aires, 26 Feb (TELAM)—Today, President Carlos Menem sent a message congratulating Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, the presidential candidate of the National Opposition Union who won the Nicaraguan elections. Menem said that the elections "are an important landmark in the history of Nicaragua and of Central America as a whole."

Herewith the text of the letter:

Dear Madam, I convey to you, on behalf of the people of my nation and myself, the most sincere congratulations for your victory in the elections of 25 February.

These elections are an important landmark in the history of Nicaragua and of Central America as a whole. From them democracy in this continent has gained enormous strength. This means that we can now envisage a promising future for your country and for lasting peace in the region.

I wish you the greatest possible success during your term in office in your quest for greatness for the fatherland of Ruben Dario and I hope for stronger and closer relations between our two nations.

Cavallo Congratulates Nicaraguan Counterpart

PY2702021490 Buenos Aires Domestic Service in Spanish 0100 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Excerpts] President Carlos Menem and Chilean President-elect Patricio Aylwin will meet tomorrow to analyze economic and physical integration topics. Foreign Minister Domingo Cavallo made these comments in a news conference after meeting with President Menem in Government House tonight. [Passage omitted]

In a letter to Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto, Cavallo expressed the Argentine Government's congratulations and pleasure over the election process held yesterday in Nicaragua. Cavallo said that, beyond the results of the elections, they stand as faithful evidence of the democratic spirit that is consolidating in Central America and to which the Nicaraguan people are gaining access. This is taking place thanks to the exemplary behavior of the Sandinist government and the opposition parties.

Menem Meets With Armed Forces Representatives

PY2602204290 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1536 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Buenos Aires, 26 Feb (TELAM)—After presiding over a meeting at the headquarters of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Argentine President Carlos Menem said that the "strategic maneuvers and operations" scheduled by the Armed Forces for the second half of the year will be "excellent."

Menem said that "for obvious reasons" he was not going to talk about the subjects they discussed because aspects of this matter must be kept "under strict secrecy for state reasons." Asked whether they discussed the participation of the Armed Forces in possible internal conflicts, the president stated: "Absolutely not."

Defense Minister Humberto Romero, Interior Minister Julio Mera Figueroa, and Foreign Minister Domingo Cavallo were also present at the meeting, which was held on the eighth floor of the Defense Ministry. The chief of the joint staff, Admiral Emilio Osses; Army Commander General Isidro Caceres; Navy Commander Vice Admiral Jorge Ferrer; Air Force Commander Brigadier Jose Julia; and other officials also took part.

Government To Evaluate Economic Policies

PY2602203390 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1413 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Buenos Aires, 26 Feb (TELAM)—President Carlos Menem today told the leaders of the political

parties that make up the Frejupo [Justicialist Popular Unity Front] that the government will evaluate the results of its economic policies in 60 or 90 days and that all programs can be corrected.

This bit of news was reported by Senator Julio Amoedo of the Popular Conservative Party after a meeting between Menem and Frejupo representatives at Government House. Amoedo said that the president asked them to be "patient" and pointed out that, after this evaluation, the government will know "if it is necessary to modify the program or to continue implementing it in its current form."

Brazil

Sarney, Collor Praise UNO Victory in Nicaragua

PY2602235090 Rio de Janeiro Rede Globo Television in Portuguese 2300 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] President Jose Sarney has said that the results of the Nicaraguan elections are a positive factor for the continent.

[Begin Sarney recording] I believe the election results in Nicaragua represent a very important step for democracy in Latin America as a whole. We have worked hard to achieve this. Since the beginning of the problem in Nicaragua, the presidents of the Group of Eight have tried to prevent from happening there what ended up happening in Panama: the use of force by the United States.

We created the Contadora Group and then the Contadora Support Group. All of the presidents of the Group of Eight have made tremendous efforts to help Nicaragua toward a democratic process. Now the Nicaraguan people have freely expressed their desires and elected their president. This is what we wanted, without interference from anyone. [end recording]

Marcos Coimbra, future civil household chief for President-elect Collor de Mello, has said that the president-elect joyfully received the news of Violeta Chamorro's victory.

[Begin Coimbra recording] You can imagine that she must already be celebrating the victory. For the Brazilian Government, the victory of democracy in a friendly country represents a moment of joy. [end recording]

PDS Senate Chief Lauds Collor, Cites Tasks

PY2302181890 Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 22 Feb 90 p 8

[Report by Armando Mendes]

[Excerpt] Brasilia—President-elect Fernando Collor de Mello has won the support of Senator Roberto Campos (Mato Grosso), the new PDS [Social Democratic Party] leader in the Senate, who yesterday made his first speech as leader of the PDS bloc. He replaces Senator Jarbas Passarinho (Paraiba). These two senators are the PDS bloc in the Senate. "I hear with optimism the modernizing language employed by Collor de Mello who speaks about privatization, about reducing state interference, about ending market reserves, about Brazil's reinstatement in the international financial community, and about the attraction of foreign capital for the Brazilian economy," Campos stated.

This praise did not prevent him from warning about the difficulties and temptations the president-elect will have to face: "A firm hand is expected from those who are aware of the storm and the courage of those who give up the honor of being loved today to be rewarded by history tomorrow." He is right, however, that Collor de Mello can make Brazil "give up its Third World complexes and regain its historical pursuit for greatness," if it learns to overcome those difficulties. [passage omitted]

Enriched Uranium Production Goals Previewed

PY2602140090 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 25 Feb 90 p 20

[Report by Nerli Peres]

[Text] Sorocaba—Nearly two years after its inauguration, the Aramar Experimental Center in Ipero (Sao Paulo) is anxiously awaiting the change of government. The Ipero center is where the uranium enrichment process is being developed. Last year its budget was substantially reduced, to the point where its projects are being delayed.

Despite all the uncertainties, like the indecision over the first nuclear submarine development, one of the Navy Special Projects Coordinating Office's (COPESP) principal goals for this year is to produce four tons of 5-percent enriched uranium. The COPESP should soon be able to supply all the fuel for the Angra dos Reis nuclear plants.

If the program receives the necessary funds, the construction of a PWR [Pressurized Water Reactor] will begin in 1991. This reactor uses pressurized water to cool its core and it should go into operation in 1995. The Aramar Experimental Center will then provide the capability and the technology to build larger reactors like those of the Angra nuclear plants.

According to a COPESP source in Aramar, the whole program is running behind schedule because its 1989 budget was only $16 million. COPESP President Admiral Othon Pinheiro da Silva used to say that "COPESP is a Formula One race car running at 20 KPH" because although it has the technology to enrich uranium at 20 percent, the Aramar Experimental Center only produced 400 kilograms of 5-percent enriched uranium last year.

By June this year, the centrifuge units at Aramar should produce enough fuel for the IPEN [Nuclear and Energy Research Institute] nuclear reactor in Sao Paulo, the only

one in the country that produces radioisotopes for use in medicine, agriculture, and industry. This reactor is not working at full capacity because there is not enough 20-percent enriched uranium, which developed countries, mainly the United States, refuse to sell to Brazil.

In spite of the uncertainties, the Navy Ministry has already decided to create in Ipero a high-technology complex. On 8 March an agreement will be signed between the Navy, the Science and Technology Ministry, and the Ipero municipality to create a foundation for the development, among other things, of new nuclear techniques applied to medicine, industry, and agriculture.

Under that agreement, and through technological cooperation contracts, academic institutions and high-technology industries will have access to the Navy's laboratory in Aramar. The transfer of technologies to commercial enterprise is also foreseen.

Military Systems Firm To Enter Civilian Market

PY2302182490 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 21 Feb 90 p G 15

[Report by Paula Pires]

[Text] The Rio de Janeiro firm Digital Control Systems (SDC) [Sistemas Digitais de Controle] last week announced it plans to begin competing in the civilian market in 1990. The firm has produced only military equipment since its creation.

The firm is a member of the Mayrink Veiga Corporation. It has been participating in the computer systems market for the past 10 years, investing mainly in the development of specific projects for the Navy Ministry.

As of this year, and taking advantage of the technology that it developed in the past, the firm will begin selling digital control systems to civilians.

The first products the firm will offer will be the SDCD (Distributed Control Digital System, for industrial automation purposes) and computerized security systems.

The firm expects to increase its sales by 50 percent with these products. During the year it will invest $1.5 million in new facilities.

The SDC expects to sell $6 million worth of products in 1990, that is, 20 percent more than last year. Executive Vice President Ricardo Albuquerque, 37, thinks prospects are good. "We expect to increase our payroll from 160 to 240 before the end of the year. We also expect to enlarge our Del Castillo factory. We will invest $500,000 there," Albuquerque said.

The SDC was associated with the English Ferranti "holding" [proceeding word in English], but it was ended in mid-1986 and 30 percent of the company shares were sold to Bellerive Investments Corporation. The SDC still uses Ferranti technology in the Weapons Control System it is building for the Navy. According to the SDC, the first computer launched by the state enterprise Cobra was in fact one of Ferranti's models.

The SDC controls 60 percent of the Brazilian Navy business. According to Ricardo Albuquerque, the firm develops only specific projects.

The projects—all of which are classified—include one on electronic warfare that has been commissioned by the Navy's Arms and Communications Directorate, and an information system for frigate trainers and which operates with the sonar simulator. Albuquerque said the project could be compared to ones that are being developed in Europe.

The Weapons Control System—currently under development—will receive its information from on-board sensors and will identify the kind of weapons the enemy is using through a signal processing system. The system will then identify the kind of projectile the ship should use to hit the enemy. This system is already in use by Inhauma-type ships and by submarines. It was developed with Ferranti technology.

Another project is the Naval Tactical Control System (SICONTA). This system is being developed at the request of the Naval Research Institute. The SICONTA uses a Digirede computer (super-micro) [as published] and the first prototype will begin operations at the end of this year. According to Albuquerque, the Navy wants to install the system in the Minas Gerais aircraft carrier.

In Brazil, the most important SDC competitors are the firms Esca and Villares. [not further identified]

Air Tactic Police Created To Fight Drug Traffic

PY2602133090 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 25 Feb 90 p 8

[Excerpts] Bauru—The police are training a special team to combat hold-ups, drug trafficking, and smuggling in the Bauru region, Sao Paulo State. The team uses a Cessna airplane and helicopters. The squad is called the "SWAT Caipira" [Native SWAT] and is comprised of 10 policemen trained in air operations. The team is headed by Police Officer Edson Cardia, who is a commercial pilot.

The creation of the "SWAT Caipira," which is officially called the Air Tactical Police Group, was suggested by Geraldo Camargo, the Regional Police Delegate to the Sao Paulo Public Security Secretariat. Public Security Secretary Luiz Antonio Fleury Filho authorized the new service following a one-year trial period. The new service will not cost the Sao Paulo State any extra because the Bauru Police trained the pilots and the Cessna airplane is one of several airplanes confiscated by the federal justice department from drug traffickers in Sorocaba. [passage omitted]

Edson Cardia carried out several operations during the trial period, and Geraldo Camargo labeled them very important because several criminals and car thieves were arrested. During one of the flights Cardia located a large installation to dismantle stolen cars in a forest area near

Bauru. Camargo added that in other important operations Cardia located at least 10 clandestine airfields in rural areas used by drug traffickers and smugglers.

Camargo explained that once the airfields were located, conventional teams were sent in to arrest the drug traffickers and smugglers red-handed when their airplanes arrived with narcotics and foreign merchandise. [passage omitted]

Chile

Foreign Minister Speaks on Nicaraguan Elections

PY2602230490 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 2200 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Report from the Foreign Ministry by Maria Eugenia Larrain]

[Text] Foreign Minister Hernan Felipe Errazuriz today said that the Nicaraguan elections were completely free. He did not want to give an opinon about the results because nothing has been confirmed yet. Errazuriz made these statements after decorating Colombian Ambassador to Chile Rafael Samudio, who concluded his mission in our country.

Errazuriz said the polls that predicted a massive triumph for Commander Daniel Ortega were not in keeping with the election results.

[Begin Errazuriz recording, in progress] ... not the case for the polls carried out previously, which had predicted a massive triumph for Commander Ortega. The final results still have to be confirmed. [end recording]

The foreign minster said he would give an opinion when the final election results are known, but only from a factual point of view because the Chilean Foreign Ministry does not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. He added that if the election results are favorable for Violeta Chamorro she would be welcome to attend the transfer-of-power ceremony in Chile.

Aylwin Concerned Over Special Junta Meeting

PY2602201190 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Through Interior Minister-designate Enrique Krauss, President-elect Patricio Aylwin has expressed his concern over Pinochet's decision to summon a special Government Junta meeting for 1 March.

[Begin recording] [Krauss] Aylwin made a technical objection on this particular issue to Presidential Secretary Edgardo Boeninger and myself, asking us to convey our concern over this meeting—which is being called as the current administration is about to leave office—and because the current regime continues to insist on legislating significant and important topics such as [words indistinct].

We would naturally like to express our opinion on these issues because they are important and controversial matters. We believe that the Congress elected by the people should have an opportunity to express its opinion on these issues.

[Reporter] Will you continue to [words indistinct].

[Krauss] I have not scheduled anything, but [words indistinct] by the phone to discuss our concern over the summoning of this Junta meeting, which [words indistinct]. [end recording]

Krauss said that the elected administration wants to learn about the bills being submitted to the executive branch and express its opinion on them. The interior minister-designate said it is inappropriate for an administration which is about to leave office to continue legislating on such important matters.

FPMR Voices Support for Democratization Process

PY2602211090 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1612 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Santiago, 26 Feb (EFE)—Spokesmen for the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPMR) expressed their support for the "democratization process" that will begin on 11 March when President-elect Patricio Aylwin assumes power. In an interview published today by ANALISIS, Jorge Salas, official spokesman for the autonomous FPMR sector, said that the FPMR will do absolutely nothing against the democratization process.

Salas said that his movement—which in 1987 split off from the group originally created by members of the Communist Party—"will not carry out destabilizing actions or give any pretext for dictatorial sectors to destabilize the democratization process."

The FPMR carried out an unsuccessful attack against President Augusto Pinochet in September 1986, and on 30 January approximately 50 FPMR members escaped from the Santiago public prison through a tunnel they had dug over a one-year period.

Salas noted that, if conditions allow, the FPMR could even "open offices" and become a legal group, just as the guerrilla movements have done in Colombia. He also said that one of the group's main tasks within the framework of the future democracy will be "to denounce the torturers." Salas said: "To dismantle, denounce, produce evidence against, and take to court all those who were responsible will be a contribution to democracy."

Future Defense Minister on Dissolution of CNI

PY2602233290 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 2200 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Today Defense Minister-designate Patricio Rojas held what he described as a routine meeting with President-elect Patricio Aylwin. He said that the future president asked him for a complete report on the dissolution of the National Intelligence Center, CNI.

[Begin recording] [Rojas] He does not think this is a true dissolution; we will therefore carry out a study to see what better measures can be adopted. However, as national defense minister, my duties require that the Armed Forces not carry out internal or political intelligence activities. The Armed Forces are allowed to carry out external military intelligence activities only.

[Reporter] What do you think of the CNI properties being transferred to the Army?

[Rojas] That will be part of the study we will carry out. When its conclusions are ready, we will reveal them to the public. For the time being, our overall criteria is based on the point I have mentioned. The Armed Forces, and any personnel dependent on them, will not carry out internal or political intelligence activities during the next administration, especially on Chilean [word indistinct].

[Reporter] Are you satisfied with the conclusion of the debate over the extent of your powers?

[Rojas] That subject has been discussed extensively. I can only make a semantic clarification: In Spanish the verb to administrate means to govern, and that is what we will do as of 11 March. [end recording]

Defense Minister-designate Patricio Rojas was received by President-elect Patricio Aylwin in his private office at the intersection of Amapola Street and Diego Almagro Avenue in Providencia District.

Colombia

Extraditables To 'Eliminate Cocaine Trafficking'

PA2602160190 Paris AFP in Spanish 1358 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Bogota, 26 Feb (AFP)—The formerly feared group of "Extraditables," the armed branch of the Medellin Cartel, announced today that it has decided to "largely eliminate the cocaine trafficking from Colombia to other countries." The Extraditables also announced that they will accept the rulings of Colombian courts and abide by the Constitution and the law.

In a letter sent in the past few hours to a Commission of Notables, made up of three former presidents of the Republic, a cardinal, and a leftist leader, the group calls for the establishment of a commission to "oversee the culmination of the in-depth content of the peace process."

The letter released in Bogota on 26 February states: "We take the liberty of sending you this letter with the conviction that you are the country's best citizens, and that you have spared no effort to serve it."

The "Extraditables" also criticized officials of President Virgilio Barco's administration for failing to believe in the Colombian drug barons' announcements of peace and surrender. They state that the unilateral truce declared on 17 January will not be broken at any time.

"We have been demonstrating our firm determination to do our duty to Colombia through the release of hostages, and surrendering war materiel and the huge cocaine processing laboratories," the document states.

"The government and the media should not continue asking if we are going to comply with our offer. We are complying with it in a nonviolent way that has brought peace of mind to our people," the document adds.

The Extraditables also announced that if President Barco's administration establishes a commission to oversee the completion of the peace process, they are willing to turn over their entire inventory of items used for their illegal activities.

"We will turn over laboratories, landing strips, rifles, dynamite, explosives, and ammunition," the Extraditables' document says. The group warns that this will only be possible with "local and international supervision."

The drug "barons" also stated that they will not renege on the decisions they have made and said: "We only ask that a process of great benefit to Colombia and the international community be institutionalized."

President Barco's government has said on repeated occasions that it will not agree to any talks with the Colombian drug mafias.

[Madrid EFE in Spanish at 1500 GMT on 26 February adds in a report on the Extraditables' letter that the drug barons asked the Colombian Government to come up with a method that would allow them to surrender.]

Drug Lords Asked To Surrender

PA2702020090 Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0007 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] The government has asked the drug lords to surrender themselves to judges immediately. Government Minister Carlos Lemos communicated this to the so-called Extraditables, who had asked President Virgilio Barco, by means of the Commission of Notables, to create mechanisms for their surrender to Colombian justice. In exchange for this, they offered to draft an inventory of the property and equipment they have been using in their business.

[Begin recording] [Lemos] They should turn themselves in.

[Reporter] Do you want them to come in groups to the various courts?

[Lemos] They should come in groups or individually to the courts, but they should turn themselves in. They are talking about a series of things, but other things are taking place instead. For instance, just when we were receiving their communique, we found that in a certain area, which according to the media is controlled by the

Medellin Cartel, there was a huge load of cocaine. Therefore, in this case, as in so many others, their words are not followed by deeds.

[Reporter] They need to show further evidence that they indeed intend to turn themselves in to the authorities...

[Lemos, interrupting] The government is not setting deadlines and is not asking for evidence for their surrender. The government is after them because they are criminals.

[Reporter] When you say they should show up at the courts, does this mean there will be no commissions or mechanisms that will handle this?

[Lemos] The government has not considered that; besides, the Extraditables themselves have not even mentioned that they will turn themselves in to a commission or something of that nature. In their communique, they announced that they were going to turn themselves in. [end recording]

Presidential Hopefuls Ready for Dialogue

PA2702044190 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0240 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Bogota, 26 Feb (EFE)—Several Colombian presidential hopefuls, Liberals Ernesto Samper Pizano and Hernando Duran and Conservative Rodrigo Lloreda Caicedo, expressed their willingness today to hold a dialogue with the Extraditables, the armed wing of the Medellin cartel, after the Extraditables voiced their desire for such talks.

The Extraditables asked the Colombian Government today to come up with the mechanisms to make it possible for them to turn themselves in to the justice system, such as surrendering their weapons, ammunition, and explosives, according to a letter delivered to the Group of Notables, a group of mediators.

Government Minister Carlos Lemos and other authorities rejected the proposals made by the drug traffickers.

There will be no mechanisms and no commissions other than the courts, Lemos said when he heard about the proposal sent to the Group of Notables from Medellin.

The Group of Notables is composed of former Liberal Presidents Alfonso Lopez and Julio Cesar Turbay, former Social Conservative President Misael Pastrana, Bogota Archbishop and Cardinal Mario Revollo, and Diego Montana, president of the leftist Patriotic Union (UP).

Liberal Senator Samper Pizano, after learning of the government's refusal to accept the drug traffickers' proposal, said that there are certain warmongering spirits in the government who must change their attitude to put an end to the war.

The presidential candidate added that the offers made by the Extraditables could be accepted without dismantling the rule of law or the country's institutions.

Hernando Duran described the proposal as a step forward in the efforts being made to normalize the situation of the drug traffickers, and he warned that the government and its officers must respond to this proposal.

I believe the new offer tends to create a climate of detente between those involved in drug trafficking activities and the government itself, Duran said.

Social Conservative candidate Rodrigo Lloreda said that the government has the obligation to respond to the Extraditables, and he added that when he becomes president he will do so.

However, Lloreda Caicedo said that the basic conditions for reaching an agreement on their surrender is to have those who committed crimes turn themselves in and be judged by the Colombian justice system. He added: It is also necessary for them to compensate the victims of their terrorist actions; there should be guarantees for the dismantling of their productive apparatus; there should be a suspension of the processing and shipment of cocaine abroad; and international observers should be brought in to verify the process.

* Extraditables' Communique Creates Uncertainty

90ET0101C Bogota SEMANA in Spanish 23 Jan 90 p 33

[Article by Maria Isabel Rueda]

[Text] The optimism which the surrender statement by "the extraditables" has inspired in the people of Colombia, based on the belief that the drug traffickers have already surrendered, is dangerous. Because the statement of "the extraditables" does not mean that the war has ended, even though they say so, nor can the government regard it as ended, just like that, either.

In order to assess, then, how this much optimism might affect the situation in which we find ourselves, it would be well to look at the periods before, during, and after this statement.

The Preceding Period

The situation without dialogue with the drug traffickers had become untenable. This was mainly because the thin line separating political crimes from common crimes, which has until now been the justification for negotiating with the guerrilla forces, but not with the drug traffickers, was becoming blurred to the point of disappearing from the national reality.

One day we discovered that the more the FARC [Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia] kidnappings

began to resemble those committed by ordinary criminals, the more the crimes committed by the drug traffickers to avoid extradition began to take on the characteristics of political crimes with every passing day. And that was not all. Then began the series of almost a thousand assassinations of UP [Patriotic Union] members by the drug traffickers. But in the midst of this insane war, no explanation could be found either for the fact that while the state could negotiate with the guerrilla forces, because they are the enemies of capitalism, it could not do so with the drug traffickers, because they are the enemies of communism. The drug traffickers, transformed so skillfully into the counterpart of the guerrilla forces in their ideological struggle, began without our realizing it to move into the category of political criminals, and their deeds began to move to the level of institutional problems. Sooner or later, this would inevitably lead to a rapprochement like that promoted by President Lopez, with the absolute support of the top level of government. But perhaps the best proof that drug trafficking in Colombia had ceased to be a police problem and had become a political one is seen in the refusal of the military to express any opinion on the statement. They maintain that this would be a political pronouncement, which only the president is entitled to make.

The Statement Is Made

Having admitted that dialogue was inevitable, let us now examine the situation in which the statement placed us. It is improbable that Pablo Escobar will pack his toothbrush and appear tomorrow to ask for accommodations at the Narino Palace while he is being extradited. In their statement, "the extraditables" clearly asked for two things—"constitutional and legal guarantees" and "nationality and homeland rights." What the former means is that they are prepared to surrender if they are not to be executed. And the latter means that they will surrender if they are not to be extradited, either.

It is obvious that the government could agree to the first demand, because all that is required to avoid executing a person in custody is precisely observance of the Constitution and the law. As to the second request, President Barco has said specifically that the government "has no inflexible positions," that "tomorrow will come and we shall see," and that with regard to the crimes of the drug traffickers, the government is prepared to study the "alternatives offered by the juridical system in effect."

But ironically, what is said by Barco, who after all has only 6 months in government remaining, is less important than what is said by Cesar Gaviria, who is for the time being his most probable successor. And Gaviria has already made a statement admitting the possibility that "the extraditables" "will be judged on the basis of the penalties and procedures set forth in the Penal Code, without the extension of penalties for which the legislation on the State of Siege provides" (for which, read extradition). The only problem involves establishing what the inconvenient partner of Colombia in the matter of extradition—the United States—thinks. Independent of the political desire of the current president or the next, the United States will necessarily be involved in Colombia's decision to approve extradition or to deny it.

The Aftermath

We do not know what the near future holds for us, when the whirlpool of hostage releases has ended and the drug traffickers want to collect for what they have termed "their goodwill gestures." Unless the government is very clear about what is to happen next, it is foreseeable that there will be another wave of violence when "the extraditables" begin to ask the government for concrete actions, rather than mere statements containing key phrases addressed to Bolivar, so that Santander will understand.

At the risk of clouding the total optimism which has currently overwhelmed the citizens of Colombia, we can say that there is just one difference between the situation of the country before the surrender of "the extraditables" and that since. It is the fact that while earlier, when we were waging total war, we knew where we were, now we do not.

* Possible Solutions To End Drug War Discussed

90ET0103E Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish
19 Jan 90 p 5A

[Commentary by D'Artagnan: "Saying and Doing"]

[Text] As was to be expected, the extraditables responded quickly and positively to the communique of the notables. What was unexpected was their tone, which was so enthusiastic that one would think, from their message, that they were surrendering completely.

Surprisingly, the extraditables are accepting the victory of the legitimately constituted government in this war and are showing a willingness to hand over hostages, weapons, and laboratories, and to halt overseas drug shipments. And they are agreeing to abide by the constitution and our laws, to be judged in accordance with them.

In short, it was such a clever response that it would be dishonest to ignore the hope that in general it has prompted throughout the community, which is fed up with so much narcoterrorist violence, especially in cities like Bogota and Medellin.

What is confusing and, to many, repugnant is that the country is drifting into a mood that is little short of ecstatic after so many attacks and so many innocent victims. Thus, grief-stricken and understandably angry voices are wondering, blindly, whether it would not have been a better "strategy" for the extraditables to have begun their struggle by striking at critical emotional bonds of the government, which is the presumed cause of the developments that we are now seeing. Perhaps we could have avoided much senseless bloodshed that way.

What conditions are the extraditables demanding? Although they dc not use the word "extradition" in their communique, they do ask that "our rights of nationality and homeland be respected." This implies that all they want is: to end the extradition of Colombian nationals to the United States, thus sticking to their slogan of "we prefer a grave in Colombia to a cell in the United States."

This seems to me to be the crux of the issue. Can such a condition be accepted? Because the only way to achieve this goal, without such a decision lending itself to misinterpretation, would be to lift the State of Siege and to return once again, after many years, to a normal and full-fledged State of Law. This is, to be sure, a worthy goal, albeit one that cannot be achieved right away. As we will recall, extradition is currently requested through administative channels, under a State of Siege decree. If the State of Emergency were suspended, Colombians could no longer be extradited in this manner; rather, they would be tried under the provisions of the penal code.

It is obvious that the first thing that the administration would have to do in such an event would be to design a sort of "Marshall Plan" for the system of justice. Instead of just near-term relief, it would have to strengthen the system across the board and leave it in a position to discharge its functions independently, with input from real intelligence bodies. And it would obviously have to provide judges with all necessary guarantees to proceed with full independence in enforcing the law.

The question that arises is: How can you, or rather the administration, think of lifting the State of Siege when the peace is being so seriously breached? Obviously we cannot return to constitutional normalcy here until several developments take place, several convincing developments....

In the first place, the extraditables must keep their word to the letter. In other words, they must hand over all of their hostages and all of their weapons; suspend shipments of cocaine (would the inevitable demand on the world market really allow this to happen?), and yield to the rigors of our laws and, if you wish, to their degrees of extenuation, as criminal law provides. This must be what the notables describe in their "appeal against violence" as less harsh treatment....Presidential hopeful Cesar Gaviria, Galan's successful political heir, has said as much in recent remarks: "The only thing that they can hope for from the State is that if they really suspend their criminal activities, they can be tried in accordance with the procedures and penalties provided for in the criminal code, without the extension of penalties provided for in State of Siege legislation." In other words, without extradition....

It needs saying that this is not the answer to the drug-trafficking problem. Indeed, as long as there is demand in the United States and Europe, the illegal business will persist, even if people other than the extraditables run it. Therefore, we must not forget that the only answer is the development of an international movement that through diplomatic channels begins to push the idea of legalizing the production and consumption of cocaine. Colombia (the next administration) must play the leading role that it deserves (because it has more moral authority than anyone else) in performing this task, as Ernesto Samper has bravely argued.

Aside from all this, the State of Siege could not be readily lifted until there exists a relationship with the guerrillas that is truly conducive to peace. The accords with the M-19 specifically were "almost in the bag," although a great deal (if not everything) was spoiled when the constitutional reform foundered. The administration, citing passionate ethical reasons, then did not allow it to be passed, since the extradition "rider" was about to be added to the referendum. But while ways of countering the subversive activities of the other organizations are under study, new prescriptions for a rapprochement with the M-19 ought to be explored, so as not to fritter away the progress that has already been made along a tough road....

Will Colombia be able at least to substantially lower the level of savagery that we have reached, if not achieve peace? It would justify a new course of conduct. The hullabaloo that the extraditables' response to the notables caused should be interpreted as a promising collective symptom: In spite of everything, people are tired of this war. Thus, even without official talks with the drug traffickers (although we can assume that there has already been more than one dialogue in the shadows) there are constitutional ways, such as lifting the State of Siege some day, in which the surrender of the extraditables can work, without this side selling out.

Otherwise, the "less harsh" treatment offered by the notables could wind up going nowhere. And the word of such illustrious figures would also lose all credibility. That would be no less serious.

Police Arrest Drug Trafficker Sought by U.S.

PA2702022690 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0135 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Bogota, 26 Feb (EFE) — The Colombian Narcotics Police today arrested suspected drug trafficker Manuel Antonio Garces, a Medellin Cartel member whose extradition has been requested by U.S. judicial authorities, it has been officially reported.

According to a police source, Garces was arrested during a police operation carried out at a farm in Santa Helena, near Medellin, 250 km from Bogota.

The arrest of the suspected drug trafficker takes place at the same time it has been learned in Colombia that a group of Extraditables asked the government to establish mechanisms that will make possible their surrender to the authorities. [passage omitted]

The police announced that Garces will be transferred to Bogota today, where police will await the formal extradition request from the U.S. Embassy in Colombia.

Since the Colombian Government of Virgilio Barco declared an all-out war on drug-trafficking gangs on 18 August 1989, 20 Extraditables have been arrested. Fourteen of them were sent to the United States to account for their crimes.

Confiscation of drug traffickers' property and extradition to the United States were among the measures adopted by Barco when he began the offensive against drug trafficking.

ELN Trial of Army Generals Begins in Absentia

PA2702024990 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0035 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Bogota, 26 Feb (EFE)—The Army of National Liberation (ELN) reported today that it has begun trial proceedings against Army Commander General Jesus Armando Arias Cabrales and General Carlos Gil Colorado, commander of the 5th Brigade, accusing them of involvement in the dirty war against the left in Colombia.

The opening of the trial in absentia of the two generals was announced to the press in a communique sent by the ELN through Social Conservative Senator Jorge Sedano, who was released last Friday after being held hostage for 15 days by the pro-Castroite ELN. The senator gave reporters the ELN documents during a news conference held in Bucaramanga (northeastern Santander) today.

According to the communique, the generals committed crimes described as war crimes against humanity by ordering the bombing of civilian towns and ordering the arrest, killing, and disappearance of ELN guerrillas.

Among the victims the ELN listed are Jose Nicolas Morales Osorio and Juan Fernando Porras Martinez, who were arrested and killed by the Army 5th Brigade on 13 January and 5 February 1990, respectively.

The ELN also accused Gen. Arias Cabrales of ordering his troops to massacre magistrates of the Supreme Court of Justice, civilian personnel, and guerrillas of the 19 April movement during the occupation of the Justice Palace in November 1985.

In another communique, the ELN issued a war report on the total victory achieved in Segovia, 300 km northwest of Bogota, when the 23 February ELN guerrilla group attack left a toll of seven soldiers killed and 12 captured by the rebels.

The ELN reported that the attack against the military base and the Segovia Police Command was against those responsible for the 11 November 1988 massacre in the same township, when 43 inhabitants of the town were killed by an indiscriminate attack with rifles and grenades perpetrated by a paramilitary group.

Officials of the military base and the police command were accused by Colombian justice authorities of the crime of omission for not preventing the massacre, because the killers fired for an hour and launched grenades at the people.

The ELN communique states that after annihilating the Bombona Battalion military base, they attacked and destroyed the police post, recovered 20 war weapons, inflicted many casualties on the enemy forces, took 12 soldiers as prisoners of war, and seized Mr. Francisco Uribe, "who was responsible for the killings in Segovia."

The ELN stated that because of the existing corruption, impunity, and inability of the current government to administer justice, the rebel organization, through the trial of the two generals and the actions of reprisal for the killings, has become a real power alternative and is building a new legitimacy.

Mayor of Apartado Assassinated in Medellin

PA2702002290 Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0000 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Diana Cardona, the 34-year-old mayor of Apartado, Antioquia Department, a lawyer and mother of a small child, was assassinated in Medellin today, one hour after she was kidnapped by unidentified individuals when she was getting ready to travel from Medellin to her town in Uraba. Her body, with bullet wounds, was found inside a car on Medellin's southern highway, near a cement plant.

Diana Cardona had been scheduled to arrive in Apartado early today. An alert was issued when it was learned that she had left her lodging in Medellin for the airport but had neither boarded the plane nor appeared at the mayor's office. The lawyer and member of the Patriotic Union had not been staying at a relative's home for security reasons.

Gunmen Kill BBC Reporter, Others in Cimitarra

PA2702124190 Bogota Radio Cadena Nacional in Spanish 1215 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Bogota—Four persons, including journalist Silvia Dussan, were assassinated last evening by unidentified men at a restaurant in Cimitarra Municipality, Santander Department, authorities have reported.

According to the official report, several armed men suddenly entered La Tata Restaurant in a downtown sector of Cimitarra and opened fire against the journalist and three members of the board of directors of the Carare Peasant Workers Association, killing them.

The journalist, who was wounded by several gunshots, was quickly transferred to the Cimitarra Hospital, but she died despite doctors' efforts to save her life. The other victims have been identified as Miguel Barajas, Saul Castaneda, and Josue Vargas, members of the

peasant association's directorate board who were helping Silvia Dussan carry out her journalistic work.

Silvia Dussan was working on a report for Channel Four of the BBC in London. She was 30 years old and had studied economics at the Los Andes University, and she was sister of EL ESPECTADOR journalist Maria Jimena Dussan. She was married to Salomon (Kalmanopit), an economist and professor.

* 225 Stockbreeders Kidnapped by Guerrilla Groups

90ET0103D Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish
10 Jan 90 p 12A

[Text] Ranchers are the favorite victims of the violence that is raging throughout the Colombian countryside. Some 225 cattlemen are being held for ransom today. Sixteen million hectares of ranch land are in serious trouble because of persecution by the guerrilla groups and common criminals.

These alarmingly common kidnapings have taken place in nine departments and in remote regions of the National Territories. The families of the victims are currently negotiating with the kidnapers. In all cases they are asking for a large sum of money to release them.

This bleak panorama was revealed yesterday to EL TIEMPO by spokesmen for the Association of Colombian Cattlemen (Fedegan), who spoke out after the kidnaping of Luis Fernando Caicedo Castro, the manager of the Valle Cattlemen's Fund and a member of the association's National Board of Directors, in the department of Cauca.

According to Fedegan, the country and the authorities are familiar with just 30 of the 225 cases of cattlemen who have been kidnaped. "We keep two files: one, with the cases that the authorities know of and that have been made public, and the other, the larger one, in which we list the kidnapings in which the families are negotiating directly and are not allowing to be made public or reported."

According to the information that Fedegan has compiled in Bogota, the kidnapings have occurred mainly in Santander, Norte de Santander, Cesar, Cordoba, Sucre, Magdalena, Huila, Antioquia, Meta, and Antioquia's Uraba.

As for the National Territories, Fedegan reported that the ones hardest hit are Casanare, Putumayo, Arauca, Guaviare, and Vichada. "Very little information comes from these regions, but we know that the extent of harassment of ranchers is worrisome," a cattle industry leader consulted yesterday asserted.

Another Fedegan source in Bogota estimated that 90 percent of the kidnapings in Cesar and Magdalena are carried out by common criminals; in the two Santanders, Cordoba, Huila, and Meta by the guerrillas; in the National Territories half by the guerrillas and half by common criminals, and in Antioquia's Uraba 70 percent by the guerrillas and 30 percent by common criminals.

The Kidnapers

Around 150 of the 225 kidnaped ranchers are in the hands of guerrilla groups, especially columns of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), the Army of National Liberation (ELN), and the Popular Liberation Army (EPL).

Kidnaping ranchers has traditionally been a safe source of income for these rebel organizations. Nevertheless, Fedegan reported that in November and December, when there were around 35 kidnapings, a striking number of groups of common criminals claimed responsibility for them.

"This situation has already been reported to the authorities. But the fact is that the families have to begin the painful process of negotiating because they feel that they can obtain little or nothing from security agencies," a Fedegan spokesman said.

The situation is even more tragic, Fedegan contends, because the great majority of the ranchers are adults. An association survey shows that the victims are over the age of 45. "This is why children are often exchanged for their parents. The families know that the negotiating process is lengthy and that the chances of seeing their loved ones return alive are meager."

According to the reports from the regional cattlemen's funds that Fedegan has compiled in Bogota, there are currently 20 million hectares of ranch land in the country. Some 80 percent, in other words 15 million hectares, are faced with serious crime problems, including cattle rustling, extortion, and blackmail.

Paraguay

Coordinating Group To Repudiate Quayle's Visit

PY2602154890 Asuncion ABC in Spanish
26 Feb 90 p 5

[Text] Youth groups from various political parties and social organizations will launch a campaign under the slogan "Against imperialism and for Latin American unity" to repudiate the upcoming visit of U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle.

They have formed a coordinating group to prepare acts of protest against the visit of Dan Quayle to our country in March. This group will include Raul Mongelos of the Authentic Radical Liberal Youth (JRLA), Rodrigo Zelada of the February Revolutionary Youth (JRF), and a representative who has yet to be nominated by the Workers Party.

They explained that they want to take advantage of the U.S. Vice President's visit to raise awareness of imperialism by exposing the U.S. policy of plundering the peoples of Latin America.

The repudiation campaign will be conducted through panels and television debates, and will culminate in a mass public demonstration during Vice President Quayle's presence in Asuncion.

Organizations that have adhered to the repudiation campaign, which was initially proposed by the JRF, include the University Students Federation of Paraguay (FEUP), the Paraguayan Liberation Movement (Mopali), the Workers Party (PT), the Christian Democratic Party (PDC), the Communist Youth Federation (FJC), and the JRLA.

The youth organizations expect to meet again tomorrow at noon in the "House of the People" [February Revolutionary Party headquarters] to establish the program for the campaign that will be launched immediately.

Daily Hails Advance of Democracy, Institutions

PY2302224190 Asuncion PATRIA in Spanish 23 Feb 90 p 8

[Editorial: "Understanding and Action for a Better Future"]

[Text] We can say today that it is a fact that Paraguay has embarked on a normalization of democracy and national institutions. All opinions can be expressed and political, union, and social organizations carry out their activities in an unprecedented atmosphere of freedom and guarantees.

Therefore, we cannot tolerate the behavior of those who adopt insolent attitudes or who intend to cause the situation to regress through provocations. These are vices of the past and not in keeping with the current situation.

No one can claim to be exclusively responsible for the current situation that all Paraguayans are experiencing. This has been a long and slow process in which everyone has cooperated, a process in which many obstacles have been and continue to be gradually overcome. This is a process that has tested our self-denial, our capacity to excel and to become true servants of the fatherland.

After overcoming political sectarianism and resuming their institutional role in step with their heroic and glorious tradition, the Armed Forces are taking part in this process with political parties, unions, and social organizations that want to achieve a better future for Paraguayans.

New national organizations have entered the political scenario. This shows an interesting change in public opinion on national social, economic, and political activities. Undoubtedly, there are still many problems. No one can deny that many disagree with the actions that have been undertaken.

We need enthusiasm and meditation today so we will be able to achieve a peaceful atmosphere that will allow people to study political programs and evaluate the merits of political organizations and politicians in view of their civic activities or proposals.

The country is advancing its democracy and wants to consolidate it. We are seeking ways to perfect our institutions, and an atmosphere of tense expectation can only be expected. There are clear examples of the real progress that is being achieved daily.

Changes always signal renovation. The positive changes that we are witnessing are rooted in tradition and will be the basis for a future that will be forged in the fruitful harmony of those who want to serve the people. This is objective we are pursuing today with a historic slogan: Understanding, action, and loyalty to the cause of the fatherland.

Finance Ministry Restructured by Decree

PY2402005590 Asuncion EL DIARIO in Spanish 23 Feb 90 p 13

[Text] The Council of State yesterday approved a decree-law establishing the functions and structure of the Finance Ministry. The decree-law eliminated the revenue directorates and created three new undersecretariats.

The decree-law created the Undersecretariats of Studies on Finance, of Taxation, and of Financial Management; and eliminated the Directorates of Income Tax, of Internal Revenue, and of Real Estate Taxation and the single taxpayers registry. The Income Tax Council and the Council of Valuation were also eliminated.

The decree-law sets forth that the functions of the eliminated taxation directorates will be fulfilled by the Undersecretariat of Taxation "through its directorates and subordinate organizations..."

The decree-law creates the following revenue offices: the General Revenue Directorate, the General Taxation Control Directorate, the Taxpayers Support Directorate, the Directorate of Regional Offices, the Land Register Directorate, the Directorate of Planning and Taxation Techniques, the General Customs Directorate (the only directorate that survived the restructuring), the Council of Taxation, and the Council of Taxation Management.

The decree-law states that "the General Revenue Directorate shall be in charge of all the activities related to the delivery of tax statements, the billing and collection of taxes, and the registration and control of collected revenues."

The General Taxation Control Directorate will be another key office, supervising compliance with the obligations of taxpayers and their representatives.

The Taxpayers Support Directorate, another key office, will help taxpayers pay their taxes and identify the persons and corporations that must pay taxes.

The Directorate of Economic Studies, the Directorate of Studies on Public Income and Public Spending, the Directorate of Studies on the State Debt, and the Council of Studies on Finance will be subordinated to the Undersecretariat of Studies on Finance.

Major overlaps in function with the Central Bank and the Technical Planning Secretariat have been avoided through a regulation establishing that state financial functions will be fulfilled "in coordination with the appropriate institutions." This annex had to be added to the decree; in the original text, the Finance Ministry assigned itself functions that are practically in the exclusive purview of the two aforementioned institutions. The two institutions claimed their jurisdiction over such functions.

The Budget Directorate, the General Treasury Directorate, the General Accounting Directorate, the General Directorate for Financial Control, and the Financial Management Council are subordinated to the Undersecretariat of Financial Management.

The decree-law clarified the functions of the Treasury Lawyer's Office, the Managerial Directorate, and the Finance Ministry Executive Board. The decree-law also eliminated the ministry's subordination to the Financial Comptroller's Office.

Peru

State of Emergency Extended in Seven Departments

PY2702021190 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 0000 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] The state of emergency has been extended for 60 days in seven departments and one province, according to a government decree published by the official gazette EL PERUANO. The departments affected by the state of emergency are Apurimac, Huancavelica, San Martin, Junin, Pasco, Ayacucho, and Huanuco. Hucayali Province, in Loreto Department, is also included.

600 Dead in 1990 Violence as Elections Near

PY2602213290 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1618 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Lima, 26 Feb (EFE)—According to a report released today, a little over a month before the 8 April general election, political violence in Peru is increasing. The report says that nearly 600 people have been killed and over 300 terrorist attacks carried out in the first 55 days of the year.

Socialist Senator Enrique Bernales Ballesteros, president of a congressional commission investigating the causes and consequences of the political violence in Peru, said authorities counted 340 victims in January and another 191 victims up to 24 February. The report adds 10 percent to this total to include cases that have not yet been reported, bringing the total close to 600.

Bernales said the Shining Path terrorist organization is expected to step up its violent activities in March in an attempt to force a boycott of the electoral process. The Shining Path will try to repeat the campaign of pressure it used for the 12 November 1989 municipal elections, in which the organization could not prevent balloting except for in a few areas where its presence is very strong.

Senator Humberto Carranza Piedra, president of the permanent congressional committee, said today that security for the next election is the issue that most concerns him and his colleagues. Carranza Piedra, of the ruling American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), said Interior Minister Agustin Mantilla had been invited to appear before his committee to explain the measures the government plans to implement to guarantee a normal electoral process and the security of candidates and voters.

The national police have announced that the Shining Path is planning to create a climate of violence in Lima in March.

The political parties opposing the center-right democratic front (Fredemo) and presidential candidate Mario Vargas Llosa believe that a runoff election will be necessary, for which the APRA has already called for an alliance with the left. The left, however, has hesitated to accept this proposal.

The center-right newspaper EXPRESO today said that the latest surveys give Vargas Llosa 48 percent of the vote. This percentage, however, would not be enough for Vargas Llosa to win the election without a runoff. According to the law, he needs to receive 51 percent to win outright.

* Left-Terrorist Relationship Discussed

90WR0077Z Lima CARETAS in Spanish 29 Jan 90 p 37

[Box by Fernando Rospigliosi: "The IU and the MRTA"]

[Text] For the last couple of years, the legal Marxist left has assumed a clear position in opposition to Sendero Luminoso [Shining Path—SL]. They took this stand when SL began murdering United Left [IU] members and leaders.

Previously, the IU and its parties had criticized SL and expressed their disagreement with armed subversion. They added so many "buts" and conditions, however, that in the final analysis there was some question about their true attitude.

Now the situation is clear and admits of no doubt. The IU, and above all the most radical parties that compose it, is also at war with Sendero.

The same cannot be said of the leftist conglomerate's position on the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement [MRTA]. Taking refuge behind certain facts, the IU has

accentuated the distinctions between SL and the MRTA. The conclusion has been a hesitant differentiation between the legal leftists and the MRTA.

They have even extended some bridges toward that subversive organization.

For example, among the agreements reached at the last Congress of the Communist Party headed by Jorge del Prado is one which states that the MRTA "is a movement in arms...(that) seeks to represent popular interests and proposes mass actions, giving priority to the armed struggle and raising anti-imperialist banners." After some benign criticism, it suggests a dialogue with them (9th National Congress, Political Theses).

The Mariateguist Unified Party [PUM], on the other hand, states that it regards the MRTA as a "political-military organization of the new left." The most important thing is that after expressing a feeble disagreement with its militaristic "deviation," the PUM concludes that the MRTA is part of the "popular camp," and proposes to "reorient it" within a process of accumulation of forces. In other words, it is a possible ally.

The Popular National Assembly and other similar organizations have also been a point of convergence between IU and MRTA sympathizers.

After the assassination of General Lopez Albujar, the IU took positive action. On 9 January, the day of the crime, the IU delegation in the Senate sponsored a motion censuring the ministers of defense and the interior for not providing the necessary security to the assassinated general. In other words, the implication was that they had not confronted with sufficient resolve and efficacy the terrorists responsible for the murder.

On 10 January the president of IU, Gustavo Mohme, and presidential candidate Henry Pease attended the funeral and emphatically condemned the assassins.

At that time it was not known that the criminals belonged to the MRTA; suspicion fell on SL. Would the IU leaders have behaved the same if they had known who was responsible?

On Thursday the 11th, the weekly CAMBIO confirmed that it was an MRTA action. Since that time, the leftist leaders have been rather reticent on this issue.

It is not a question of establishing sinister and shadowy ties between the legal leftists and the terrorist groups. Nor is it a matter of insinuating that they are two branches—one legal and the other armed—of the same tree.

The legal left has shown repeatedly in the last 10 years that in fact it is a part of the democratic system, and constitutes a very important element in the underpinnings of that system. But it still remains ambiguous with regard to the MRTA.

What has happened to the IU is similar to what happened to the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance [APRA]. Between 1980 and 1985, APRA members thought that if they came to power their relationship with SL could change, because at that time the followers of Abimael Guzman did not attack them, only members of Popular Action, the ruling party.

They were grossly mistaken. When they attained power, they came into SL's line of fire. APRA members became their favorite targets of all politicians.

The IU also had to suffer the destructive effects of Senderist fanaticism before it took a clear stand. Will the same thing have to happen before it will decide to face off with the MRTA?

* Analyses of Presidential Election Campaign

* Polls, Strategies Viewed

90ET0112A Lima CARETAS in Spanish
29 Jan 90 pp 11-14, 16, 83

[Text] With the elections just over 2 months away, the campaign is just beginning to heat up. Front-runner Vargas Llosa, with clear ideas and definite proposals, is setting the pace for the race. A CPI [not further expanded] poll indicates that the advertising of the Democratic Front (Fredemo) stays in the public's memory better than any other. It also shows, however, that Vargas Llosa's power ideas are strongly grasped by the citizenry. The second-place runners have adopted the strategy of using Fredemo's platform in a negative way; their propaganda is oriented toward responding to and rejecting its main proposals. The 1990 contest is peculiar for a number of reasons. The Senderist [Shining Path] threat has restricted the mobility of candidates, who have traditionally made the pilgrimage to all the public squares of the country. As a result, television advertising has been given more weight. And President Alan Garcia has become Mario Vargas Llosa's main opponent, overshadowing all the other candidates.

Alfonso Barrantes was more surprised than anyone by the spontaneous and warm reception he was given by the distressed members of the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance [APRA], who said goodbye to Fernando Leon de Vivero for the last time at the Aula Magna [large assembly room].

Passing through the narrow pathway opened up by the hundreds of APRA members who applauded him, he must have harkened back to the old days when he had belonged to Victor Raul's party, or the not-so-distant days of the municipal elections of 1983, when he owed his victory to his ability to capture the vote of a fringe of the APRA electorate that was disenchanted with Alfredo Barnechea (and they were later proven to have an acute sense of smell).

"Frejol's" shift to the center of the political spectrum has the same purpose today: to absorb the votes that are abandoning APRA but have not found a home in Fredemo.

At any rate, despite the efforts of the man from Cajamarca, the campaign, which has just begun to heat up and is now warming up the voters, is still a contest between Mario Vargas Llosa, candidate for the presidency of the Republic in the 1990 elections, and Alan Garcia, who is running for the same office...but in the 1995 elections.

It is obvious to any observer that Garcia is on the campaign trail. He made it clear for the umpteenth time last week, when he beat Vargas Llosa by 2 days in visiting Chimbote.

According to one version, Vargas Llosa went to the northern port on the heels of his rival for the purpose of regaining the ground that Garcia had seized. According to another source, Garcia found out that the Fredemo leader had plans to visit the colorful fishing port and beat him to the punch.

In any case, it is clear that the contest is still between these two men. Vargas Llosa wants to win these elections. Garcia has multiple objectives.

First, he wants to boost his sagging popularity before leaving the Government Palace. His popularity rating has plunged to a meager 8 or 10 percent, from the peak of 85 to 90 percent during the first golden months of his administration. Second, he wants to make sure that Vargas Llosa wins by a narrow margin, and that Congress is as hostile to him as possible, in order to make it difficult for the Fredemo administration to achieve any success.

Third, he wants Luis Alva Castro to be buried by the Fredemo vote in such a humiliating defeat that he does not even get into the runoff elections. This will enable Garcia to take over the helm of the party and be anointed as the party's candidate in 1995.

The war between the novelist and Garcia is leaving wounded, bruised, and crushed casualties by the wayside. Among the casualties is the president of the Freedom and Democracy Institute (ILD), Hernando de Soto, who was caught in the crossfire.

On the one hand, a venomous Fredemo advertisement accused him of stealing ideas and tendentiously linked him to Alan Garcia. And on the other hand, former APRA Mayor Jorge del Castillo attacked De Soto for supporting the rightist Ricardo Belmont—whom APRA followers claim is pro-Fredemo—on the solution of the (nearly) unsolvable problem of urban transport (see separate article).

Lots of TV, Few Rallies

The campaign of 1990 will undoubtedly be different from any other. The Senderist threat has restricted to a bare minimum the campaign rallies and events in which the main candidates participate live and in person.

Some have gone to the extreme of practically going underground. That is the case of Alfonso Barrantes, whose appearances at demonstrations and other activites are not announced in advance. The reason cited by a high-ranking official of MIS [Movement of the Socialist Left] is security. Intelligence sources apparently warned of very specific threats against the diminutive man from Cajamarca.

That may be, but in any event the threats suit the indecisive Frejol just fine, as he never decides whether to participate in a "mass event" until a few hours—sometimes minutes—before it begins.

This happened frequently in the 1985 campaign, to the dismay of his running mates at the time, Enrique Bernales and "Cucho" Haya de la Torre.

And it appears that he will repeat the performance this time around, especially since Barrantes' animosity toward his running mate, Enrique Bernales, who was defeated in the Lima municipal elections, remains undiminished.

Under these circumstances, the decisive element of the campaign is TV. Because TV is an expensive medium, the parties with the least amount of money are hit hard. The figures from a CPI study (see chart) indicate that Fredemo has a huge advantage over all its rivals on the decisive small screen.

The "stairway boys" [a reference to Fredemo's logo] have twice as much TV advertising as APRA, six times more commercials than Barrantes' MIS, and an astounding 30 times more than the impoverished United Left (IU).

This explains why it is the spokesmen of the leftist conglomerate who are most interested in passing a law providing for a little more equitable access to the media. And it is Vargas Llosa's supporters who are most adamantly opposed to it (see chart). The affluence of some gives them a clear advantage over the poverty of others.

It is obvious, then, that TV advertising has a significant influence on the election. It is also clear that the size of each candidate's purse is what determines, to a large extent, his access to the small screen.

It is not true, however, that this will dictate the decision made by the voters. Nevertheless, some still insist on hiding their pitiful lack of ideas behind the shortage of money.

The polls conducted by CPI for CARETAS are illustrative. The advertisements for Vargas Llosa, who has invested the most money, are remembered by more than 93 percent of the citizens. The austere Henry Pease's publicity is remembered by a mere 21 percent.

But the same pattern does not hold true with the rest of the candidates. "Frejolito's" campaign propaganda is remembered by 62 percent, while Alva Castro's stays in the memory of just 54 percent, even though the APRA candidate has invested three times as much money as the man from Cajamarca.

In other words, the more money a political group has, the greater its ability to reach the people and inform them of its proposals. But the relationship between money and being remembered is not symmetrical. The proof of that

is the fact that Barrantes, with relatively little money, is able to surpass Alva Castro, who has spent more lavishly on his publicity.

As the old saying goes, money isn't everything. Ideas count for something as well. And on that score, Vargas Llosa is also well ahead of his competitors.

Strategies

The survey conducted by CPI exclusively for CARETAS makes it crystal clear that people grasp the content of Vargas Llosa's message. The rest are limited to vague images or trite phrases (see chart).

More than half of those who recall Vargas Llosa's propaganda have a clear recollection of the promise to reduce inflation to 10 percent, although not all necessarily agree with the shock treatment. They also remember his antiterrorism position and his offer to unplug the money-printing machine.

A POP [Peruvian Public Opinion Poll] survey suggests that the majority of citizens believe that the offer to cut inflation to 10 percent is just a campaign promise. Nevertheless, they don't take offense and actually like the idea.

Jorge Salmon, well-known publicist and national secretary of Fredemo in that area, explained to CARETAS the reasoning behind his strategy. The initial problem was how to attract the popular vote by telling the truth: that if they came to power they would apply drastic measures to correct the imbalances that caused the crisis. After a few initial blunders, the most memorable one being the incontinent monkey, they came up with a message that had staying power.

The objective that is keeping the Fredemists awake at night is that of winning the first round of elections. Although they express confidence on the outside, it is obvious that they are growing increasingly worried as the days go by and the polls show a relative stagnation of Vargas Llosa's position.

Given that the Fredemo campaign's strong suit is its intensive use of radio and TV, the candidate's appearances are aimed at generating newsworthy political events, not at attracting crowds as in traditional campaigns.

An example of this is what happened in Chimbote last week. Vargas Llosa's presence did not prompt a rally, but it did enable the candidate to express his opinion on the situation of the Peruvian State Iron and Steel Enterprise (Siderperu), to criticize the government, and to develop his own alternatives.

Vargas Llosa's grand finale will begin with a spectacular event scheduled for 7 March, according to an announcement by Miguel Vega Alvear. Demonstrating his tremendous ability to draw crowds, thanks to his international prestige, Vargas Llosa has organized a gathering at which will appear, among others, French author Jean Francois Revel, Mexican poet and essayist Octavio Paz, British historian Hugh Thomas, Cubans (anti-Castro, of course) Carlos Alberto Montaner and Armando Valladares, and American theologian Michael Novack, a virulent critic of Father Gustavo Gutierrez' Liberation Theology. Lech Walensa will appear by means of a teleconference hookup that will beam his image from Warsaw to the Hotel El Pueblo.

These big shots of liberalism will be joined by Peruvians Enrique Ghersi, Felipe Ortiz de Zevallos, and Pedro Pablo Kuczynski. Kuczynski will be imported directly from the United States, and campaign officials will take advantage of his brief stay in Lima to offer him inducements to become the first prime minister in the Vargas Llosa administration that will probably take office next 28 July.

In the case of Alfonso Barrantes, the strategy devised by his campaign chief, former National System for Supporting Social Mobilization (Sinamos) official Federico "Fico" Velarde, has three basic points. The first is to identify Barrantes with his new symbol, the bean. The reason is simple: For 10 years, Barrantes has been linked to the banner of the United Left. It is very obvious that the opinion polls give many more points to the IU than to Barrantes' MIS. But when respondents are asked about specific candidates, the man from Cajamarca invariably outscores Henry Pease. It is a matter of helping Barrantes supporters locate his position on the ballot when it comes time to vote.

According to the CPI poll, it appears that the MIS strategists have almost achieved their objective. More than half of those who remember this group's propaganda think its most prominent feature is the appetizing plate of beans.

The second point outlined by the strategists is to present the former mayor of Lima as the only viable alternative to Vargas Llosa. The third is to save their strength for the final "rush" in the runoff elections, when Barrantes' conciliatory and moderate discourse will attract the majority. The APRA vote will be decisive here.

To pave the way for this effort, the man from Cajamarca has added Aprist journalist Ricardo Cervera, former director of the Andean state agency, to his team. Cervera was brought onto the team thanks to the good offices of German Carnero Roque.

Based on the premise that Fredemo will always be ahead of them in terms of money and media spots, the Barrantes camp intends to use judo techniques, using the adversary's own strength against him.

This means "latching on" to Vargas Llosa's propaganda to counter it. Thus, if Fredemo puts on 20 commercials a day on inflation, they will respond with 5 commercials on the same issue.

The latest "spot" responding to Fredemo was withheld because of an encounter between Barrantes and Manuel Moreyra, who has come down a notch in Fredemo recently. The conversation took place during an embassy

reception last week. Moreyra reportedly told Barrantes Lingan that he disagreed with the harshness of Fredemo's economic proposals and agreed with Barrantes' idea of compromise.

Barrantes acted immediately and ordered that a video criticizing Vargas Llosa, in which Moreyra's picture appeared as a standard-bearer of Fredemo, be held back and redone without Moreyra in it.

The APRA experts are facing a problem even more difficult than making a silk purse out of a sow's ear: "selling" the image of a candidate as dull and uncharismatic as Luis Alva Castro. Indeed, even the APRA party membership is not very enthusiastic about him, as demonstrated by the cool reception he was given by his comrades last Saturday at the funeral of Fernando Leon de Vivero, in contrast to the warm welcome that was given Barrantes.

One alternative has been to plaster Lima with huge billboards. All of the slogans revolve around the name of the candidate, Lucho [I fight]. But they avoid showing the candidate in person. Anyway, when Alva Castro does appear in a television commercial, his image becomes even more fuzzy.

One source of strength which the campaign is trying to make good use of is Alva Castro's status as vice president. That is why he is traveling all over the country cutting ribbons on public works projects.

This week he will appear in Chiclayo, Tumbes, Sullana, Talara, Morropon, Chulucanas, Tambo Grande, and Paita.

As far as publicity is concerned, the team headed by Alfonso Salcedo Rubio and Alfredo Dammert has opted for a strategy similar to Frejolito's: to respond directly to Vargas Llosa's commercials.

Another candidate who appears to be stuck in the mud is Henry Pease. In addition to the burden of his recent defeat in the municipal elections of Lima, he is facing the problem of disunity within the IU.

After the fierce battles in the leftist front, the slate ended up with three representatives of small parties. The "big shots" of the IU, Jorge del Prado's Communist Party, Javier Diez Canseco's Mariateguist Unified Party (PUM), and "Ludovico" Hurtado's National Union of the Revolutionary Left (UNIR), do not have any of their members on the presidential ticket. Their interest is therefore focused on attracting the preferential vote to their legislative candidates, given that they are well aware they will have no chance to dispute the presidency of the Republic.

Given this state of affairs, there were rumors that the big parties had not met their obligation to contribute the agreed-upon share to the national campaign. That may be true, or it may be that the money they contributed has already been spent; in any event, the fact is that the IU's limited funds for television advertising ran out last Saturday.

The leftists have tried to make up for their lack of financial resources by drawing on their primary asset, their ties to popular organizations. But there they have encountered problems as well.

In their tour of the southern part of the country last week, the members of the presidential ticket made too obvious a use of the installation of regional governments for their electoral purposes. And the citizens showed their contempt by staying away from the scheduled events.

Although it is true that the IU has a majority in several Regional Assemblies, it is also true that the regional governments are pluralist entities that cannot be directly involved in a specific election campaign. To do so would run the risk of arousing the population's repudiation or apathy, as appears to have happened already.

To Believe or Not To Believe

The candidates can promise a lot or a little, but it is very important to know whether the citizenry believes them. The degree of trust is decisive, especially now that the word of politicians has been devalued more than the inti.

The CPI poll shows that Vargas Llosa has a clear advantage in this regard. He is the only one of all the candidates whose promises are believed by a larger number of voters than the number who disbelieve them.

He is followed by Henry Pease. Three out of every five voters do not believe his promises, two do.

In the case of Barrantes, out of every four people surveyed, three do not believe he will keep his promises and one does.

In last place is Luis Alva Castro. Four out of every five citizens doubt his word.

[Box, pp 12-13] Numbers Don't Lie: Clarity of Proposals Will Be Crucial

Recollection of Candidates' Publicity

Recall the publicity of...	
	%
Mario Vargas Llosa	93.7
Alfonso Barrantes Lingan	62.6
Luis Alva Castro	54.3
Henry Pease	21.6
Other candidates	0.4

Credibility of Candidates' Campaign Proposals

Recall the publicity of...	Total
	%

Mario Vargas Llosa	93.7
Believe	52.5
Don't believe	41.2
Alfonso Barrantes Lingan	62.6
Believe	15.5
Don't believe	47.1
Luis Alva Castro	54.3
Believe	10.8
Don't believe	43.5
Henry Pease	21.6
Believe	8.8
Don't believe	12.8

Charts that complement those shown indicate that 14 percent of the citizens believe that Mario Vargas Llosa is exaggerating when he promises to cut inflation, while 18 percent consider this promise the most positive aspect of his campaign.

In the case of Alfonso Barrantes Lingan, the most positive element perceived by the voters is the campaign based on the plate of beans (8 percent), while the most negative aspect seen by those surveyed is his criticism of Fredemo (5 percent).

The most positive element of Alva Castro's campaign is his promise to help the people (4 percent), and the most negative (a high 9 percent) is his demagoguery and his inability to inspire confidence.

People are favorably impressed with Pease's message (3 percent) and are critical of his lack of publicity (2 percent).

1985: TV Advertising Investment for Presidential Elections

For 24-week period from November 1984 to April 1985

Political Party	Number of Spots	Time per Spot in Seconds	Investment in Dollars
APRA	2,181	64,565	613,953
Popular Action	2,963	111,040	646,480
Democratic Convergence	4,000	121,290	890,295
United Left	816	22,065	165,675
Others	1,538	39,581	244,902
Total	11,498	358,541	2,561,305

It is clear that in 1990 more will be spent on advertising than in 1985. In the current campaign, Fredemo has invested far more than its rivals in propaganda.

1990: TV Advertising Investment for Presidential Elections

For 9-week period from November 1989 to January 1990

Political Party	Number of Spots	Time per Spot in Seconds	Investment in Dollars
APRA	967	64,565	386,050
Socialist Accord	141	3,570	114,501
Fredemo	1,592	51,635	667,420
United Left	18	1,080	20,769
Total	2,718	86,270	1,188,740

Note: The 1985 presidential campaign lasted from November 1984 to April 1985, and the 1990 campaign figures are for November 1989 through the first week of January.

Who? Do You Remember of the Publicity?

	%
Mario Vargas Llosa	93.7
Promises to reduce inflation to 10 percent	47.6
His campaign to combat terrorism	7.2
Offers to shut down the money-printing machine	6.9
Mario Vargas Llosa's message	6.9
Promises to rescue the country from its crisis/bring about change	5.7
Other aspects	19.4
Alfonso Barrantes Lingan	62.6
The bean spot/plate of beans	35.3
His criticism of Mario Vargas Llosa	12.7
He will reduce inflation with the help of all Peruvians	4.3
His food campaign/the glass of milk	3.3
Other aspects	7.0
Luis Alva Castro	54.3
The slogan "I fight [Lucho] for the people"	14.3
His promise to help the poorest/visit to the slums	10.8
The publicity on the expressway	5.2
The rallies/his demonstrations	4.9
His criticism of Mario Vargas Llosa	4.0
Other aspects	15.1
Henry Pease	21.6
The spot on peace with social justice	4.0
The spot that says, "United we will all bring down inflation"	4.0
Promises to help the poorest/visits to the slums	2.7
His criticism of Fredemo's platform	2.3
Other aspects	

The recollection of Vargas Llosa's campaign is not only better, but also more specific on all the issues.

[Box, p 16] The Use of the Media

A bill sponsored by IU Senator Rolando Ames has given rise to an important debate on the electoral process: Should there be any change in the impact on the campaign, by each political force's ability to purchase media advertising?

Ames' original bill proposed a complicated formula whereby part of the advertising fee should be paid by the state in the form of income tax breaks for the media. Some companies howled in protest, and with reason. It is one thing to finance campaigns now, and quite another to collect a year later on the basis of a hypothetical profit.

Others spoke of a disguised "expropriation." This term really reveals the ignorance of the person using it; in many different countries around the world, political propaganda is regulated through various mechanisms that seek to moderate and control the influence of money.

In the United States, for example, the political parties are required to make their campaign budgets public. The U.S. Treasury contributes to these funds in an amount proportional to the number of votes the candidate ultimately receives. And private individuals—who are publicly identified—can only contribute as individuals, and up to a limited amount.

In countries with a less solid democratic tradition, there have also been attempts to prevent information and political propaganda from becoming subject to the laws of supply and demand. In Brazil and Chile, to mention cases close to us, the purchase of television advertising was prohibited; any advertising that was done was provided free of charge in equal amounts to each presidential candidate. This would be excessive in our country.

France also provides an interesting example. There are a lot of party tickets. What appears to be reasonable here is to go beyond access to the state-run media (which the Constitution provides for) in order to give as much information as possible to the voter.

The radio and television broadcasters association has already given a great deal of advertising space to the National Election Jury for the purpose of teaching citizens how to vote.

The Newspaper Association has made a similar offer, and a bill is now being considered in the Senate, sponsored by several parties, to enable the media to give the parties lower rates during the home stretch of the campaign. It remains to be seen what the discount will be and what the definition of "home stretch" will be.

But one factor should not be forgotten. The quality of the publicity and the behavior of the candidate are more important, as Ricardo Belmont demonstrated so well, than are volume and space. The masses of posters that Lucho Alva Castro has put up are already part of our chaotic urban geography and serve little purpose. In Chile the opposition won the plebiscite with just 15 minutes of television advertising a day, but it was 15 well-used minutes.

* Lack of Platforms Lamented

90ET0112B Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish 19 Jan 90 p 2a

[Editorial by Luis Miro Quesada G.: "The Vargas Llosa 'Complex'"]

[Text] Not long ago someone told me that a foreign journalist who watched a legislative session commented, after hearing many speeches, that it seemed that Vargas Llosa was the government that was being reviled constantly by the opposition. I think this is a good illustration of what is now happening on the national preelection scene, which could well be called, in modern parlance, the Vargas Llosa "complex." That is, an association of unconscious feelings that emerges in his opponents in relation to the novelist's political existence.

I am not unaware of the fact that in the strict psychological sense, the syndrome is more an "obsession" than a "complex," in its precise meaning of "a fixed idea that takes over the spirit independently of free will, and that the individual returns to continually." In current politics, or more precisely in current politicians, it is no exaggeration to speak of such an "obsession," which is why the political debate is frequently limited to what the Fredemo [Democratic Front] candidate did or did not say, rather than discussing the proposals corresponding to each candidate.

Curiously, after the presentation of the four main candidates at the Annual Conference of Business Executives (CADE), it would appear that only one platform was outlined there, that of Fredemo; the other platforms seem to have been left behind in the desk drawers of their proponents. Rather than trying to disseminate, explain, and debate their own proposals, these candidates devote their best efforts to questioning, challenging, and condemning the document advocating a "change in freedom" that was presented before the CADE.

Neither United Left [IU] nor the Socialist Accord (AS) have shown any interest in criticizing the APRA [American Popular Revolutionary Alliance] program; the latter also shows no concern for the proposals of the IU and the AS, and it appears that neither of the latter two feels the need to clarify any differences; but all of them have obsessively pounced on Vargas Llosa's program. The methods of doing so vary according to personality, but the fixation is the same; in one case it is done by means of deliberate sibylline allusions that are intended to denigrate; another candidate angrily demands a personal debate on Vargas Llosa's proposals; while others mount dubious smear campaigns based on quotes out of context.

Moreover, the candidates and their acolytes are not alone in this obsession; it also characterizes the press and television campaign that has been targeted against whatever Vargas Llosa does and says. In addition, members of the government itself, primarily the minister of economy and the president, are overcome with this same obsessive disease; they forget the impartiality that their

offices require, and devote their energies to ad hominem ravings against one or another proposal for change advocated by Vargas Llosa.

A close aide to the president has proposed a pre-electoral alliance, not in favor of a given alternative, but against Vargas Llosa in an effort to prevent him from attaining the presidency. This is a pathetic policy of the negative rather than the positive, rooted in that same fixed idea that constantly hounds the spirits of the majority of our politicians. It is obvious that the intention is to turn the Fredemo candidate into the "bete noire" of Peruvian politics, but when candidates fixate on his personality, ignoring themselves and other candidates and their proposals, they turn him into the "ab Jove principium," the most important person by far, exalting him to the pinnacle of Peruvian politics.

I think that this must flatter him immensely, because whether he likes it or not, this obsession on the part of his opponents has made him the center of the Peruvian political universe today, the theme around which all politics appears to revolve, with the exception of terrorism and the economic crisis. It is clear that the phenomenon I am commenting upon has this dual characteristic of being involuntary and recurrent; otherwise there would be no explanation for the fact that veteran political leaders have forgotten the propaganda principles of image creation and persist in focusing the political spotlight on Vargas Llosa. He is proud and pleased, of course, because the convergence of criticism, challenges, and insults aimed at him, obviously with destructive intentions, has worked to his advantage, giving him a public acceptance that is well above that of his opponents.

To be sure, his position in the electoral landscape is not due entirely to this campaign; the candidate's own characteristics and his program can take much of the credit. The fact that his platform contains very clear proposals for the most significant changes is what has prompted such a reaction from his opponents. These may be the reasons for the phenomenon, but the inescapable conclusion that I draw is that the results of the phenomenon have been favorable to him.

The unfortunate thing is, given the public debate's fixation on one candidate, we are wasting an opportunity to examine and debate the various government programs on which we will be voting next April, an opportunity that would have been healthy for our society. If a survey were taken today to determine the extent of the public's familiarity with the various government programs that have been proposed, it is more than likely that the responses would reveal an overwhelming ignorance of this matter.

Hardly anyone knows how the proposals of IU, APRA, and AS differ from one another, or even what measures distinguish them from the Fredemo platform. I believe that the programs contain a great many generalities that must be clarified in detail, such as "agreeing upon criteria" to set the exchange rate, or a "realistic exchange rate," "significant changes" in tariffs, a "mammoth" state that must be streamlined, etc., etc.

We have already had the sad experience of a government without a plan. Today the country needs to know exactly what option it is voting on. What is expected of the candidates is that they reveal, explain, and clarify these options, rather than devoting themselves to the expression of personal obsessions.

Uruguay

Minister Says Nicaraguan Vote 'Irreversible'

PY2602195090 Montevideo Radio El Espectador Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Foreign Minister Luis Barrios Tassano has stated that the Nicaraguan opposition's victory deserves the support of all Latin American countries.

In remarks to El Espectador the foreign minister said that the United States now has a great responsibility to provide the assistance needed by the new Nicaraguan Government. He added that this electoral process and the Sandinist movement itself have demonstrated that the most important thing to be achieved now is respect for freedom and democracy.

Barrios Tassano pointed out that future diplomatic relations between Uruguay and Nicaragua will be as cordial as possible, as is appropriate between nations that freely choose their governments. Asked his opinion on the results of the Nicaraguan elections, Barrios Tassano said:

[Begin Barrios recording] I think the Nicaraguan elections represent the consolidation of the democratization process. Not only Nicaragua, but Latin America as a whole will profit from this democratization. The election demonstrates the path to peace, the ultimate objective of any foreign policy. There is no peace without democracy, as there is no democracy without peace. The big winner here is Latin America, especially Central America. This is the result of what we all believe: that democracy must be promoted by all means, because this is the regime that must rule all societies, not only internally, but among all the peoples of the continent. This democracy must be the base on which to build more peaceful, constructive, and honorable nations in the region.

This process also represents a victory for the Sandinist movement and for President Ortega, because he was the one who provided the necessary guarantees for the realization of elections in a climate of freedom and respect for the people's will. I have not heard any reports indicating that this freedom was not respected. The elections were held freely, and the people were allowed to express their true feelings. These elections are, therefore, legitimate and irreversible. This is the time to express our congratulations to President Ortega and his government for facilitating this process.

Venezuela

Presidency Congratulates Nicaragua's Chamorro

PA2602190190 Paris AFP in Spanish 1757 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Caracas, 26 Feb (AFP)—Venezuela congratulated Violeta Chamorro and her National Opposition Union (UNO) today for their victory in the 25 February elections in Nicaragua, and urged them to work for the country's "reconciliation" because the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) "is a strong party and is deeply rooted within the people."

A Presidency communique issued at noon today by Carlos Andres Perez' government also congratulates President Daniel Ortega "for the gallant way in which he has fulfilled his promises for Nicaragua's democratization; and for his emphatic and clear recognition of the electoral results."

Referring to Chamorro and UNO, the communique states: "This victory pledges them to raise the patriotic and Latin American spirit with which they must face the future task of achieving the Nicaraguan family's reconciliation, given that the electoral results indicate that the FSLN is a strong party and it is deeply rooted within the people; its participation in the Nicaraguan people's democratic destiny will be vitally important."

The communique emphasizes the Venezuelan Government's "deep satisfaction" with the "clear and clean way in which the electoral process was carried out and concluded in Nicaragua."

Perez, whose Supreme Electoral Council [CSE] provided electoral advice to the Nicaraguans and donated fuel for the electoral mobilizations, has offered its cooperation to the Sandinist Government "so that the transition process receives Latin America's decided support and encouragement."

Eduardo Fernandez, the most important opposition leader and president of the Christian Democratic International (IDC), appeared on television today at noon and said that he felt encouraged by Ortega's "gallant" attitude of recognizing his defeat and predicting that "he would turn over power if he lost the elections."

"A very important step has been taken and, in my opinion, it will change the Central American situation," it was stated by Fernandez, who is also COPEI [Social Christian Party] secretary general.

"I hope the United States is intelligent enough to support all of the process, even though I understand how attractive Eastern Europe is for Washington. There have never been so many democracies in Latin America before," Fernandez added.

The press has yet to react on this Carnival Monday. The leading headlines simply mentioned Ortega's advantage in the elections, a close vote-count, and the normalcy prevailing in the process—without reflecting the impact of Violeta Chamorro's victory, which turned a new page in Nicaragua's history in just 24 hours.

Guyana

Hoyte's Address Calls for Self-Reliance

FL2302190290 Bridgetown CANA in English 1831 GMT 23 Feb 90

[By Courtney Gibson]

[Text] Georgetown, Guyana, Feb 23, CANA—Guyanese ushered in the 21st year of the co-operative republic at midnight on Thursday [22 February] with President Desmond Hoyte contending that the economic tide seems to be running in Guyana's favour. In an address to the nation after a flag raising ceremony at the national park, the Guyanese leader called on the local private sector to assume the leading role in attracting investment into the stagnant economy and to occupy the enlarged space now available to it.

He said that as a main plank of its development strategy, the government has made a policy decision to reduce its direct involvement in the economy and to encourage the private sector to become the main actors.

He said that since his government's economic recovery programme (ERP) was launched a year ago, there have been "setbacks" and "reverses" but there have also been "significant gains." He did not specify what were the setbacks and disappointments. But, in what is seen as a reference to the year-long difficulties his government has been experiencing in attracting foreign aid, especially the recent cutback in inflows from the U.S. Government, he stressed the need for Guyanese to be more self-reliant.

"No outsider is going to assume our burden and relieve us of our responsibility to manage our affairs, resolve our problems and develop our country," he said in his address which was broadcast live.

He said while some countries might help for a limited time, provided Guyanese are prepared to help themselves, "recent events have shown that we cannot even be sure that any assistance pledged will necessarily be forthcoming in the expected amounts—or, indeed, at all." He said the country's campaign for economic recovery, growth and development was very much like a war and Guyanese have to expect vicissitudes.

He was "supremely confident", however, that Guyanese who will have to be prepared to endure difficulties and work to overcome them and exercise patience, will win the war.

His government's economic policies "are proving to be correct" and Guyanese have begun to see the results of the business confidence these policies have generated—including the attracting of investment from abroad. And, contending that "it appears that some people are still

confused" about the government's divestment process, he stressed that divestment was only one aspect of the government's investment policy and was "a mechanism for enabling the private sector ... to increase their investment and their stake in the economy."

He added: "Rather than resulting in the loss of jobs, divestment can generate increased employment, higher levels of profitability and better material rewards for workers." He said that "for 1990, the auguries are propitious." There were very good chances of "cementing strategic alliances with overseas companies" that could result in rapid economic development.

Hoyte added: "Given the developments that have taken place in 1989 and the known prospects for 1990, it seems to me that, once we maintain our ground for the rest of this year, nothing can stop our onward march thereafter to the goal of sustained development and progress.

"The tide certainly seems to be running in our favour. Let us not hesitate for a single moment; let us seize the time."

Suriname's Help Sought in Free Elections Fight

FL2602144790 Bridgetown CANA in English 1619 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Paramaribo, Suriname, Feb 25, CANA—Guyana's opposition leader, Dr. Cheddi Jagan, said he would like Suriname to draw the attention of the United Nations to the violation of political and human rights in his country. The veteran Guyanese politician was speaking at a press conference here, where he is attending activities to mark the 10th anniversary of the day of the revolution in Suriname.

Jagan has held talks with Suriname's President Ramsewak Shankar, Vice President Henck Arron, chairman of the National Assembly, Jaggernath Lachmon, and leader of the Suriname Labour Party, Fred Derby. During these meetings Jagan urged support for the fight for free and fair elections in Guyana. Elections in Guyana are due by March next year.

Jagan told journalists that the opposition in the country wants the United Nations to visit Guyana to get first hand knowledge of the bad political climate in the country. The Suriname Labour Party has promised to mobilize progressive forces in Suriname and the Caribbean to support Jagan's fight for "free and fair elections."

According to Jagan, a political solution is the first step towards solving the social/political problems in Guyana. He added that the political solution lies in a broadbased government and a system of political pluralism.

Line-of-Credit Discussions With China Conclude

FL2602141390 Bridgetown CANA in English 1921 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Georgetown, Guyana, Feb 25, CANA—Guyana and China have completed discussions on a new line of credit to Georgetown worth about U.S. 6 million dollars, a government release said. They have also signed a loan agreement for U.S. 600,000 for Guyana to buy commodities from China. Details of the line of credit are to be negotiated by April when Foreign Minister Rashleigh Jackson is to sign an agreement during a visit to Peking.

Head of the Department of International Economic Cooperation, Dr. Cecil Rajana, said the line of credit will be used for development projects as well as for the acquisition of commodities. He said the agreements were initiated since the arrival in Guyana last Sunday [18 February] of the China's vice minister of foreign affairs, Liu Huaqiu.

The vice minister held discussions with officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Agriculture as well as other government agencies. He also paid courtesy calls on President Desmond Hoyte and Prime Minister Hamilton Green.

During his visit the vice minister also held discussions on continuing technical assistance to Guyana in such areas as biogas technology, cotton cultivation, and the commercial rearing of the Peking duck.

Suriname

Bouterse, Rebel Leaders Mark Revolution Day

FL2602213590 Paramaribo International Service in English 1730 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Army Commander Desi Bouterse says that he will always contribute to the peace process with or without the government's mandate. To give meaning to this content today rebel leaders Thomas, of the Tucayana, and Brunswijk, from the Jungle Commando, are standing here with me on this podium, said Bouterse yesterday afternoon in a speech on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the day of the revolution. Bouterse said that it is now up to the government to round off the peace process in Suriname.

The leaders of the Jungle Commando and the Tucayana Amazons yesterday during the commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the day of the revolution also addressed the gathering. The rebel leaders have emphasized that they are in favor of peace and development and called on government authorities to continue the negotiations to stop the armed violence.

The week of activities, which was held in the framework of the 10th commemoration of the taking over of power on February 25, 1980, was yesterday ended with an open reception and various cultural activities. Seminars, a [words indistinct] market, and sports activities were also part of the week of commemoration.

Yesterday's highlight was the presence of rebel leader Thomas and Brunswijk at the Independence Square when Bouterse delivered his speech.

Comments on Devaluation

FL2602214090 Paramaribo International Service in English 1730 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] The National Army will not fight the people when they go on the streets to protest against devaluation and poverty. This was stated by Army Commander Desi Bouterse yesterday in his speech on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the revolution. According to Bouterse, the poverty in the country will increase if the government devalues the Surinamese guilder. With examples from the region, he pointed out a devaluation has brought no solutions for the socioeconomic problems in countries which have taken this course. Devaluation according to the prescription of the IMF will only lead to labor unrest and the National Army will not fight this, said Army Commander Bouterse yesterday at the Independence Square in his speech in relation to the 10th anniversary of the day of the revolution.

National Assembly, Rebels Continue Talks

PA2402161790 Paris AFP in Spanish 0748 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Paramaribo, 21 Feb (AFP)—The government newspaper DE WARE TIJD, published in Paramaribo, reported today that Jaggernath Lachmon, president of the Surinamese National Assembly (parliament), met with Ronnie Brunswijk and other leaders from the Jungle Commando.

Upon returning from the meeting, Lachmon told the newspaper that he would not disclose any details about the meeting until President Ramsewak Shankar had been informed of the results of the meeting in Seengo, a bauxite producing region. This is the first meeting between Lachmon and the insurgents in the peace efforts being made by the civilian Surinamese Government following the resignation of Army Commander Desi Bouterse as mediator of the peace process, a role he played since December.

Bouterse resigned claiming a lack of government support for his peace talks with the four insurgent groups operating in Suriname.

Government Urged To Return Brunswijk's Mandate

FL2302193990 Paramaribo International Service in English 1730 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] The government must give back the mandate to negotiate with illegal armed groups to Army Commander Bouterse. This was stated by the leader of the Jungle Commando Ronnie Brunswijk in an interview with the daily DE WARE TIJD. According to Brunswijk, he and the Army commander had already drawn up an agreement for peace after three months of talks. The relationship between the National Army and the Jungle Commando has been improved and the government should have prevented Bouterse from returning his mandate, said Brunswijk.

Army Commander Bouterse last week gave back his mandate to negotiate with illegal armed groups in the country. According to the Army commander, he was facing many obstacles both in Suriname and externally.

China Offers Interest-Free Loan of $7 Million

FL2602225590 Paramaribo International Service in English 1730 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] China has offered Suriname an interest-free loan of nearly $7 million for the execution of projects and to cover the costs for foreign (?experts). The Chinese deputy minister of foreign affairs, Liu Huaqiu, has announced this last Friday [23 February] at a press conference at the end of a 3-day visit to Suriname.

The loan is aimed at speeding up projects which are being carried out with assistance from China. These projects include a biogas digester, a project to harness energy from [word indistincts], and a fresh-water shrimp project. The delivery of material for school uniforms will also be covered by the loan.

According to the Chinese deputy minister of foreign affairs, the discussion with Suriname Government officials was fruitful and totally contributed to the improvement of the friendly relations between Suriname and China.

Deputy Minister Liu Huaqiu left Suriname on Saturday.

Two Cooperation Protocols Signed With Belgium

FL2602223190 Paramaribo International Service in English 1730 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Belgium will make nearly $6 million available to Suriname for new and ongoing development projects. This was said by the Belgian minister of development and cooperation, Andre Greens, last Friday [23 February] during the signing of two cooperation protocols. The protocols are in relation to a fishery project and a project to improve electricity in the Commewijne District.

During the signing of the protocol, Minister Greens emphasized the importance which Belgium attaches to the formulation of a recovery, growth, and adaptative program by the Suriname Government. If Suriname formulates such a program, Belgium will offer aid to ease the social consequences which will occur, said Minister Greens.

The Belgian minister was in Suriname to discuss the development cooperation and, furthermore, promised that Belgium will give assistance to, among others, a telecommunications plan of the Suriname's Telecommunications Company and the technological research in woods which is being carried out at the [words indistinct] University in Suriname.

Minister Andre Greens left Suriname last Saturday [24 February] after a one-week work visit.